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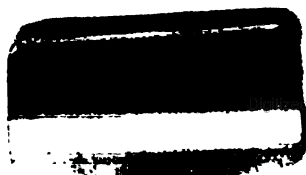
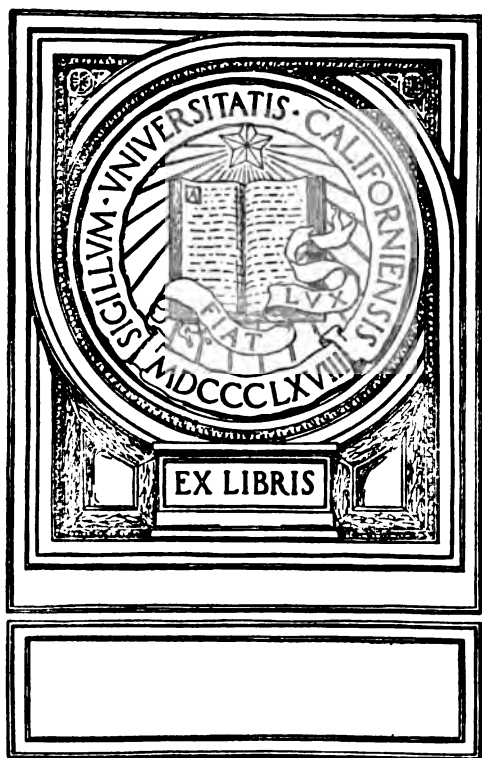
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AND
CANADA PRESERVED.

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AND
CANADA PRESERVED.

BY
F. A. WILSON, K.L.H., G.S.
AND .
ALFRED B. RICHARDS, Esq.,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW, OF LINCOLN'S INN.



IN TWO PARTS.

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TO
THE QUEEN, PRINCE, AND PEOPLE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES

This Work
IS HUMBLY DEDICATED
BY
THE AUTHORS.

M204073

“ The mirth of the land is gone.”—(*Isaiah*, xxiv.)

“ He that selleth, let him be as he that fleeth away; and he that buyeth, as one that will lose; he that occupieth merchandize, as he that hath no profit by it; and he that buildeth, as he that shall not dwell therein; he that soweth, as if he should not reap; so also he that planteth a vineyard, as he that shall not gather the grapes; and, therefore, they that labour, labour in vain.”—(*Esdra*s, xvi. 41—45.)

“ And will begin to make inquisition of them, what they be, that have hurt unjustly?”—(*Esdra*s, vi. 19.)

“ Now the Lord said unto Abram, ‘ Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house, unto a land which I will show thee.’ ”

“ And the land was not able to bear them, for their substance was great, and they could not dwell together.”

“ And Abram said unto Lot, ‘ If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right, or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.’ ”—(*Gen.*, chap. xii. and xiii.)

— ἐπὶ Ἀτυος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέως σιτοδητήν ισχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι * * * ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οὐκ ἀνίεναι τὸ κακὸν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλεῖα αὐτῶν, δύο μοίρας διελύντα Λυδῶν πάντων, κληρῶσαι, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μονῇ, τὴ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας.—(*Herod. Clio.*, i. 94.)

P R E F A C E.*

SEVERAL months have now elapsed since Captain Wilson communicated to his partner in the present Work a scheme for the construction of an Atlantic and Pacific Railway communication traversing our possessions in North America.

The projects which will be found therein developed, with regard to the trade of China, and a settlement in Japan and Corea, were fully and inseparably connected with the first conception of the plan ; but the idea of a perfect and unreserved Incorporation of Canada was adopted somewhat later, during the progress of the undertaking, and has since formed a most striking and important feature in the matter now submitted to the test of public opinion.

During the more mature consideration of the common object, the pamphlets of Major Carmichael Smyth,

* It may be as well to mention in this early part of the work, that the whole of Part II. is written by Mr. Richards, and that, therefore, he is alone responsible for its sentiments and expressions. He is led to acknowledge this the more particularly, as some observations are made by him on late events in Rome, in a tone which might scarcely suit the religious opinions of Captain Wilson.

of the existence of which the authors were not previously aware, most forcibly arrested their attention. The discovery, that the ground was already broken up, at first damped, but finally inflamed their ardour. They saw in these pamphlets the heralds of their undertaking, and feeling assured that, in so great a field of operation, it mattered not who was pioneer, since the scope afforded room for the intellect and energies of all, they proceeded with the determination of following up Major Smyth's ideas with still more extended ideas and projects ; fully convinced that in so doing they were only furthering the views of a gentleman who had at heart the interests and prosperity of his country. The reality of this latter conjecture was most satisfactorily proved in an accidental interview, relating to entirely another subject, which Mr. Richards had with Major Smyth, in the course of which a casual intimation was given of the present Work being in the press.*

Captain Wilson, therefore, on his part, has no desire to contest the palm of originality, with regard to the railroad ; although many men in his position, and possessed of the proofs which he can adduce, would be tempted to do so. It is sufficient for him, that Major Smyth was first before the public, that he is the ardent and enthusiastic promoter of a great undertaking, and that the public mind is already thus prepared in some degree for the daring but practical development of a de-

* A free use of the information contained in Major Carmichael Smyth's pamphlets has been made throughout this work, which the authors are most desirous to acknowledge.

sign so reasonable, but so gigantic, as the Railway Junction of the Pacific and Atlantic; as well as for the earnest consideration of the incalculable advantages, which may thence pour their blessings upon the united and incorporated kingdoms of Great Britain and Canada.

A variety of circumstances, which cannot interest the public, have delayed the earlier production of this Work. But considering that the whole progress of public affairs has singularly conspired to give force to the plans and projects of the authors, that the whole march of events is with them, that every day some new and striking feature occurs of startling importance, to give fresh validity to their facts and new vitality to their conceptions, and that they have only been thrown upon a riper moment and ushered in a maturer form, they can see no reason to regret the postponement of their intention.

In the reaction of protection, the clamour of the agricultural and shipping interest, the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Universities, and the Church and State differences at present pending, they see nothing but assistance to their proposals for alteration of policy, for economy, and for reform. In the West Indian and Slave Coast Blockade debates, in the late general display of foreign policy which shocked the honesty and good sense of the nation, and in the revelations of misery and emigration, which occupy the daily columns of our public journals, they behold continual facts, which must prepare the country for change and stimulate it to exertion.

In the various grand conceptions of engineers and speculators, in this and other countries, they see the magnified reflection of their own designs, but often without their necessity, or even possibility or importance. In the late threatened crisis of a WAR with the European powers, still darkening the political hemisphere, they gaze with added contempt, in experience of their utter imbecility, upon the confusion and terror of cant-mongers, and *free-traders* in the prosperity of Great Britain. Nay, they, in some degree, claim for themselves the respect due to prophetic utterance; when circumstances have stamped the inspiration true. They refer more especially to page 333 of this work, in which the French ferment is analysed, and one of its chief component parts found to be hostility to England, and in which, events that have since pretty nearly occurred have been described and painted.

Of the present and late condition of France, too much, or too little, cannot be said in reprehension of her example. Her regenerators have done more in one year to injure liberty than would have been achieved by a century of feudal tyrants. Whether the President, Louis Napoleon, will succeed in establishing himself on the throne—whether he will display the tact, talent and presumption, or enjoy the good fortune, to play the game of those usurpers who have found crowns in the mud and fitted them on their own heads by their own daring or the sufferance of a nation, or whether he will be shortly pushed out of the way, after strutting his brief period on the stage, to make room for another favourite of the day—is

more than the authors or any living soul can predicate. The President, who is President, it appears, for the same reason that often determines the object of a woman's passion, viz., no reason at all, or because he was the last person in the world the French nation ought to have selected, has just made a draught on the public purse to increase his private-political means, and we shall see whether that is approved of, or borne quietly.

The drama of French political life is like one of their own favourite romances, full of incident and horrors, invention and changes, paradoxes and diseased imagination, each chapter or scene ending in a tableau, and the real ending—nothing! that is, the ending, as far as can be seen; for as yet no one can discern that stability, which should attend the closing of the Revolutionary Drama.

With regard to the social and political state of America, in relation to her form of government and general institutions, the authors are inclined, in charity to a young country, to say as little as possible, except as far as the interests of Great Britain are concerned. But, in the accounts, which have just reached us, of the unparalleled invasion of Cuba, they read the strongest proof of the weakness of her administration, the *brigandage* of her people and the changes of destiny which await her. Great and powerful she *must* be, whatever may occur. But she is approaching the fire of her purgation, and her torture will be in proportion to the strength of her vitality.

But with regard to ourselves, does not the disinclination of Great Britain for war argue conscious weak-

ness? Does not that weakness encourage the insolence of her foes? Has not the Papal authority, last and least, just perpetrated, out of compliment to the French, an insult to the British name and authority? Does not France desire war? Is she not biding her time? Will not that be her climax? When, since the days of Cressy and Poitiers, has England been alarmed at the prospect of war? The authors are advocates for peace, as much as any votary of Exeter Hall, yet with more dignified views and motives; but let it be the peace which results from conscious power, which weakness can never secure to one that has been strong, or promise to those that falter.

We are now reaping the benefits of the fact being generally known, that we are not in a condition to go to war. If a small state offends us, she appeals at once to a great one, and, for the first time, England is constrained to hesitate and prevaricate, to apologise and disavow. But, ere long, it will be found that our particular line of cleverness does not lie in shuffling diplomacy, and that we shall be worsted by antagonists beneath contempt in a struggle that avoids, because it dreads, a blow!

Turn to another picture. The distress of England is not irremediable. Her strength is not departed. The one only requires a rallying point, and the other, wise and salutary measures and precautions. It is to be hoped that *M. Ledru Rollin*, who has just published a work, entitled "The Decline of Great Britain," has somewhat overshot his mark, if he has brought her to a

“Fall.” In the spirit of Englishmen, the authors have also attacked abuses. They have held the torch of truth to the melancholy features of decay; but they bring her a restorative cordial. They have exposed the canker-worm; but provide an antiseptic. They condemn ancient policy; but afford a new scope for legislation. They decry, above all, expediency in its narrow and sordid sense; but they demonstrate what is expedient for the recovery and increased splendour of the nation.

Above all, in their Work they are constitutional and loyal. They cherish the institutions of society, as developed in classes, from the people, whom they would see contented, to a dignified aristocracy. Their changes are not those of vulgar reform; but of prudent and honourable necessity. They consider it is time that the morbid craving for an impossible equality should cease, that it has grown stale and unprofitable, and has sufficiently proved itself destructive of the common interests of mankind and nations. They confess that at least one of them has emerged from the shadow of the Republican tree, as he has beheld its leaves fall blasted, and that he now stands erect in the light of a liberty, which is surrounded by more genial protectors than ignorance connected with venality and the train of vices mingled with a mob.

Their arguments on this head should come with a double force; since they advocate the interests of a class to which they do not belong. The aristocracy of England numbers many foolish traitors in its ranks, who wish for a blind and false popularity of the school of Philip

Egalité. These, however, do not possess sufficient vice; or virtue, to strip themselves of their titles, and assume the violent modesty of the bare "Citizen." They would be Jews without circumcision, and Turks without a turban. But a *liberal* Marquis deals with theories, not practice, and is prouder in detail than any noble of the old school; whilst he would coldly sacrifice the interests of his order on the altar of vicious sentiment for the purpose of mean display and shallow popularity.

Let not the authors be stigmatized as worshippers of birth and aristocracy. They wish merely to preserve a constitution, which combines in itself the merits of all classes; whilst they shudder at the horrors which have been perpetrated in France, in the prostituted name of liberty. Should England be permitted by the representatives of these classes to decline to her ruin, without a struggle to return to what she has been, or to attain to what she may be, not a word has been written, of which they are conscious, in the present Work, which would preclude either of them from advocating other abstract notions of the existence of a different form of government than a monarchical, or indeed any state of human existence, but a "Socialist" community.

They are conscious, in some degree, of resisting the "movement" spirit of the age. But it is the movement of the earthquake which precedes desolation which they would prevent; not the circling panorama of improvement bringing new sunshine to the human race. It is the doctrines of levellers they attack; not the wise and enlightened notions of practical philosophy. If it is urged

that by their arguments in favour of classes, they would oppose an obstacle to the march of mind and intellect, and that they are unfavourable to the triumph of education, whose parallels and lines of investment have been silently drawn around the castles of baronial pride and feudal ignorance, they deny the assumption, and retort upon the champions of pretended liberality by impeaching *them* of selfishness and shallow artifice, subversive of true morality, virtue, intelligence, and honour. Such men would deprive the nation of dignity and the people of their great incentives to ambition and excellence. For experience teaches that ranks and distinctions, which are attainable and yet difficult, open but select, and sufficiently stationary to be worth while achieving, draw men upwards from the mire by a species of magnetism, which most powerfully affects what is good in our nature. On the other hand, a state of society which recompenses merit or ambition too rapidly, and which does not bestow rewards sufficiently varied, distinguished and lasting, or does not present sufficient landmarks of public estimation in the shape of permanent family distinctions, will be found chiefly to be the nurse of superficiality and mother of contempt.

When a die is cast, the mould must sometimes be broken in order to confer true value on the medal.

However, the privileges of education and talent need no defence. The aristocracy of talent exists under all governments. It rises supreme even amid ages of otherwise utter darkness. It is supremely recognized, *as readily as for its own sake it ought to be recognised*, in this

country, with all her ancient pride of birth, her haughty institutions, and cold exclusiveness.

Genius most frequently resembles the smouldering fire, which requires the wind of storm and tempests to kindle it into flame. It shines best through adversity, and is Antæan in its renovation, deriving strength from the earth, to which it is often beaten and struck down by birth or ignorance. Nay, it is its doom often to wrestle with the Angel of Want, ere it may receive good, and profit by the blessing of its heritage from the hand of Heaven. Neither Republics nor Oligarchies are essentially destructive of philosophy, talent, or genius. But, to leave argument, the authors were *born* Englishmen, and live under a virtuous monarchy and a constitution, which in its working has long outshone all the social inventions of mankind. Therefore, whilst a possibility exists, they would cling to the institutions of the country, and it is with these views and feelings that the following pages are written.

They have uttered this defence, lest the abstract doctrines of either of them should be mistaken. One may worship a Cromwell; but it is when a Cromwell is needed. Yet Cromwell did not destroy the constitution of England; but found its liberties destroyed and its functions impeded. He was no more a democrat than Napoleon; no more a Republican than Cæsar.

With regard to the aristocratical privileges of this country, there are many things which might admit of a judicious reform, which would tend at once to the

dignity and purity of the aristocratical order. These reforms might be connected with a COURT OF HONOUR, instituted for the purpose of keeping a necessary check upon the abuses of titled extravagance and license. A peer ought not to be able to avoid the Insolvent Court, or a member of parliament be permitted to evade arrest. The former disgraces his rank by a dishonourable poverty, and the latter loses his fitness to legislate by the loss of his respectability and stake in the country. These are hints merely thrown out to show that, in our desire to preserve intact the existing institutions of England, the peculiar privileges of rank are not blindly advocated. In former times *lettres de cachet* were not unfrequently resorted to on the part of the French throne to conceal or chastise such disreputable conduct as might be likely to throw discredit upon the nobility. This was probably the best use ever made of this monstrous privilege of tyranny.

It will be observed throughout this Work, that it is attempted to confer a benefit upon *all* classes of society. The authors propose a great EMIGRATION, conducted on a principle of a valuable return of profit to this nation; and they are anxious, on the other hand, to prepare a country in such a manner, that it shall be able with fitness to receive those that go forth. They consider that the interests of the UPPER, MIDDLE and LOWER Classes are alike involved. They offer a remedy for all. They wish to preserve the aristocracy from degradation, the middle classes from penury, and the lower from starvation; and are desirous of standing in the gap, in oppo-

sition to the prevailing cant of the age, to defend Great Britain from the suicidal frenzy of her children.

In advocating any great, new plan or idea, there are various elements in the composition of man against which both inventors and authors are obliged to struggle. They are forced to battle against the obstinacy and apathy of indifference, as well as the violence of prejudice, the cant of hypocrisy, and the cleverness or stupidity of ignorance. Cant is such a troublesome thing to the human race, that one wonders often how people should first have set it going. Hypocrisy demands such a sacrifice, and is such an unpleasant garb to wear, sweating as one often must in disgust or silence beneath the sun of truth, that it seems strange mankind should so frequently adopt it by consent and preference. But neither hypocrisy nor cant, nor superficiality nor ignorance, is so difficult to encounter (because their votaries are fewer) as the indifference of the British mass. Nothing but necessity seems to goad even the minority to action, whilst numbers content themselves with saying that "it is no use doing anything," or "it cannot last long:" principles we have heard lately laid down even by respectable legislators. These people seem to listen to the dictates of fatalism as interpreted by the ministerial budget. The loss of a colony, nay, a declaration of war, does not affect them. They can only be stirred by the momentary fluctuation of prices.

But although apathy is part of the inheritance of an Englishman, sense is also his birthright. Facts and difficulties begin to crowd upon him. He is forced at

once to predicate and remember. Once fairly roused, before it is too late, he will encounter every toil and brave every danger. The volatility of the French would have leaped to the conclusion too soon. We trust that the quietude of the English has not too deeply suffered. We have not lost a foreign battle yet, or stained our streets with the horrors of domestic anarchy. We are on the brink of ruin, but have not slipped: have reeled, but are not fallen. Classes are to a certain extent injuriously fused; but the ranks are not finally disordered and broken. We possess a virtuous Throne, a patient people, and a choice of future leaders. Therefore it is that, pointing to the far West, one may still bid England HOPE; whilst she aids the work of Providence in adopting the proffered means to assure her stability and greatness, after remedying her disorder!

There is another class of men, from whom a great design, such as the present, may meet with considerable indirect opposition; because it will interfere with their own little designs, and is opposed to the small schemes of real or pretended philanthropists and party socialists. Some of these men are actuated by pure and conscientious motives, others from desire of notoriety, and a few from reasons scarcely as creditable. There is a cruelty and dishonesty often practised in our systems of partial emigration, which prove that neither the good of England, nor of those who thus miserably abandon her shores, is consulted. Even some most specious associations tempt us to denounce them by the impotency, or absurdity, of their undertakings. But we know that in this age, respectability never swindles, that sentiment

and religion never, at any epoch, lent a cloak to roguish designs; and that a prospectus is a sufficient guarantee for the virtue of its own conception.

In spite, however, of all this, we expect to be backed by the intelligence, the good sense, and the public spirit of the nation.

In the midst of the general change, apprehension, and danger, ministers court popularity, not only by filling their saloons indiscriminately with all who, they think, may, in the slightest degree, assist or support them; but they head associations and preside at meetings for the partial benefit of the distressed labouring classes. This is a sop to Cerberus of infinitesimal proportion. It plainly shows, however, the feeling that is abroad. These little practical benevolences are like the flutter which would present sixpence, or a teaspoon, to the importunities of a house-breaker.

In strong relief against these paltering Reformers, who sell the liberties of the people by retail to furnish their own necessities, stands the conduct of one who shines in worth and feeling, amid the distresses of the country which is proud to adopt him for her own. HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT has shown great anxiety for ameliorating the condition of the poor, for the education of the lower classes, and for the general prosperity of the country. He has lately manifested deep interest in the welfare of Great Britain, *as displayed in her industry and invention*. A portion of that interest is now humbly requested, with a full confidence in his condescension and goodness, *to be directed to a more primary source of benefit, and to a less superficial*

act of grace. Alas ! that the country may be permitted to be industrious, and that her invention be not choked in dust and ashes, that her toil be not in vain, and her race ended, ere the goal of her destiny be fully won.

May it be the brilliant destiny of PRINCE ALBERT to assist in subduing misery and in averting danger, and to stand forth as the champion of a new and improved era, a great and fruitful reform, and a bright and glorious revivification of the splendours of our empire !

It is with these views that the present Work is written, and with this hope that the authors are animated.

A late speech in her Majesty's Parliament has mentioned the probable foundation, by our infant princes, of kingdoms yet unknown. It is rather anxiously to be desired that Providence will reserve for them what we now hold, and that not a single jewel may fall from the Imperial Crown, ere it encircle the fortunate brows of THE FIRST ALBERT. Let the REDEMPTION OF GREAT BRITAIN and the PRESERVATION OF CANADA be inseparably connected, in the pages of future history, with the lustre of that name.

In a proposition to incorporate a great and distant country with our own, and to submit her to the confused capabilities of a British Reformed Parliament, it is true that many acute observers will point to the misgovernment of Ireland. "What !" they will exclaim, "when at our own door we suffer that unhappy province of our empire to be distracted and convulsed, and sprinkled with the blood shed by anarchy and prowling famine, without one simple measure based upon solid principles to relieve her, do you propose to legislate for

another country, at a distance too, already full of national prejudices, divided into classes and torn by dissension?" "Then," the reply is, "England must acknowledge her future, as well as her past incapacity. You bid us cease to hope, and would deprive us of the means of amendment and the promise of reform." No! The writers of the present Work trust for better things. The pride and curiosity of Great Britain are both aroused—pride to re-instate herself in the opinion of the world, and curiosity to know why such follies have existed. There is a better spirit already awakened. The only point is that it may be more prudently and more extensively directed.

With regard to the possibility of an important, material part of the design, which will be found developed throughout the whole Work, viz., the construction of a railroad from Halifax to Vancouver's Island, which, from its magnitude, may possibly startle the timid and confound the inexperienced, on the very threshold of consideration, it may be observed that it by no means exceeds the general boldness of the era in the conception of great plans. At the same time the opinion of Lord Durham—to whom so frequent and grateful a reference is made, and whose report on the condition of the Canadas may still be fresh in the memories of many—is the most favourable that can be conceived on every point of importance. For instance, "In North America," he says, "the expense and difficulty of making a railroad bears by no means the excessive proportion to those of a common road that it does in Europe." Again: "It appears to be a general opinion that the severe snows and frosts of that continent very slightly impede and do not prevent the travelling

on railroads." "The Utica Railroad, in the northern part of the State of New York, is used *throughout the winter*." "The passage from Ireland to Quebec would be a matter of ten or twelve days, and Halifax would be the great port by which a large portion of the trade, and all the conveyance of passengers to the whole of British North America, would be carried on."

But even Lord Durham, with all his distinguished talent, his extensive information, and his full appreciation of the value of the provinces about which he wrote so well and justly, did not, it may be apprehended, even dream of the mighty events that are fast crowding themselves into the annals of the present age, dependent as they are for their first vitality upon England, and for their continuance upon Canada. That the auspices which await the realization of these projects may be great, good, and propitious, is the fervent prayer of the authors! In the meantime they beg leave to conclude a Preface already extending beyond its designed limits, by the quotation of the following translation from the pages of Herodotus, which they deem equally interesting and apposite. Particular attention is requested to the style of remedies long devised to put a stop to the miseries of famine *by the Ministers of Lydia* :*—

"The people of Lydia have pretty nearly the same customs as the Hellenes, excepting, of course, that the latter do not prostitute their females. They are the first nation we know of that introduced and circulated gold and silver coin, and were the first venders by retail. According to the statement of the Lydians themselves,

* Herod. Clio., chap. 94.

all the games, likewise now in vogue among themselves and the Hellenes, were inventions of their own. The epoch of this discovery is said to have been coincident with that of their colonization of Tyrrhenia. They give the following account of these matters:—Under the reign of Atys, son of Manes, a great famine pervaded the whole of Lydia. For a long time the Lydians bore patiently with this scourge; but, no cessation taking place, they sought for remedies to the evil. Various persons devised various expedients: at that time, accordingly, the different kinds of games were discovered: dice, round-bones, ball, and all except drafts, the invention of which the Lydians do not claim to themselves. The following was also invented as an expedient against the dearth—to play the whole of one day in order not to feel the hankering after food; on the next to eat, and refrain from play. In this manner they passed eighteen years; at the end of which the evil, far from relaxing, had acquired greater virulence. Accordingly, their king divided the whole Lydian nation into two portions, and then drew lots which should remain and which forsake their country. Of the party allotted to remain he appointed himself king. At the head of the emigrants he put his own son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. Those whom fortune had doomed to abandon their country went down to Smyrna, built ships, and, stowing on board all their useful articles of furniture, sailed away in search of land and food. At last, after coasting many states, they reached the Ombrici, where they erected for themselves towns, and dwell to this day. They have, however, altered their name from Lydians to that of the

king's son who headed the expedition ; according to which they have given themselves the name of Tyrrhenians."

Let the public make the application of this venerable story, and drawing a parallel between the misery and remedial measures of Great Britain and those of the ancient *Lydians*, declare whether or not they can discover anything in it to rebuke the enlightenment of modern legislative sages.*

ALFRED B. RICHARDS.

June 10th, 1850.

* We have just glanced through *M. Ledru Rollin's* volume, "*The Decline of England*." It is chiefly of importance as tending to inflame French animosity, if unhappily that is susceptible of further inflammation. The *facts* contained in it are about equal in general correctness to the notions entertained of English manners by the novelist *Paul de Kock* ; whilst its *spirit* is one of private malignity mingled with national hatred. Mistakes which are ludicrous in England are, however, mischievous in France. We have, indeed, received an *exile* here, who is capable of stinging the bosom of the country upon whose shores he has been flung forth. The spasmodic contortions of the style of this book, and its malevolent jerking sentences, remind one of the irritated grimaces of a monkey seated upon a hand-organ. But, melancholy as are the aberrations from fact which deform its pages, it is still more melancholy to think that there exists much truth in *M. Rollin's* strictures on the general misery and distress of Great Britain, and that he might have found quite enough to fill a volume in the abuses which disfigure our social and political condition, without being lost in the delusions of hatred, or falling a victim to his national ignorance of England, rendering himself, as he has thereby done, only liable to incur the frown of just indignation, or the shrug of impatient contempt. We believe emphatically that the part of *M. Ledru Rollin's* work which refers to the wars of England is about as imaginative as one of the extraordinary abominations of his compatriot *Eugène Sue*.

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PART I.

**INTRODUCTION.—EMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION.—
DESIGNS OF THE UNITED STATES.—RAILWAY JUNC-
TION BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC.—DIS-
POSAL OF PAUPERS AND CONVICTS.—PRACTICAL
DETAILS, &c.**

INTRODUCTION.

THE following work is intended to display a grand yet simple remedy for the *Distress of Great Britain*: a subject occupying the public mind in a just proportion to the great and sad necessity of its present existence. We are suffering from debt, over-population, and the pauperism of a great portion of the community. The country is involved like an individual merchant. By a great exertion—a triumphant dash into a new channel of commerce—by a discovery, a patent, or a miracle, it may meet its liabilities; otherwise, it must pass through the Insolvent Court of a Revolution, and issue forth a broken-down hack, or a fresh and vigorous enterpriser, to begin the world anew: it must emerge a third-rate and degraded nation, or in a healthy second childhood of elastic strength. *Which?*

But this is not our question, and therefore we will not attempt to answer it. Our object is to prove a means to escape the dilemma. The debt of the country is the result of years of false legislation: it is a vast tumour, or excrescence, of unhealthy origin. All the small applications of expediency cannot do more than keep it within the bounds of tight and painful bandages, or

elastic rollers. Whenever you attempt to slacken one part, another protrudes: you cannot benefit one portion of the community, without causing another to suffer. Free-trade, which might be the natural glory of the most industrious, inventive and capable people in the world, becomes, under present circumstances, a curse, to ruin the yeomen of England, to annihilate the small farmer, to bend the back of the agricultural capitalist, and, finally, to impoverish the landlord, whose taxed receipts and probably mortgaged inheritance, whose expensive habits and free living, cause him, although apparently a rich man, to be only the recipient of rents, which are immediately paid away. Reduce him one-third, and he is not a gentleman of diminished fortune, who must put down three hunters, but an entangled bankrupt.

So much for the cry of free-trade from the gambling manufacturers and the oppressed and sickly artisans, who expect cheap bread in every change. They might as well hope for manna from a dissolving view of the vale of Jehosaphat. The whole system is rotten: you may as well patch an old garment with a new piece of excellent cloth, as apply Free-trade to the present state of England in relation to the continent. To open the ports now, is, indeed, bleeding John Bull for the gout; and yet we who write this are the natural enemies of Protection, as we are of Absolutism.

The continual serio-comedy, in which Mr. Cobden delights to play the part of Bottom, the *weaver*, is not suited to the necessities of the nation. It is one of the features of the age, that men of ability, courting power, popularity, and notoriety, are in the habit of taking up one subject, and endeavouring, by vain repetitions, to make

that impression which truth and reason deny. It is the advertising system of politics, and is most injurious to the good sense of the nation. These are the men that attract the mind from first causes and general effects: they are the quack doctors in the commercial and agricultural Fair of the world, diverting the multitude from the rational pursuit and acquirement of the objects which lead them there—with this special difference, that, from much talking on the one point which interests them, amid the hubbub around, they are led to believe in themselves, and be the dupes of their own nostrums.

But we are digressing from our subject. Let us come to the pauperism and over-population which we have spoken of, and consider, as we said before, the grand remedy, which nature and art at once prescribe for the evil, without addressing ourselves to the causes of that evil—a task as vain as difficult. For great as are the examples of the world's history, and instructive as the past is to the present, when seen through the lens which wisdom borrows from experience, still there is no greater fallacy, than to turn back a century in the age of a nation in order to frame the prospectus of half a century to come; to unweave the web of the years lately added and placed back in the great tapestry chamber of Time, to furnish faded and tangled threads for the future. No: lessons are gathered by a *coup d'œil* from the past; but the history of progress is in its own development. As the carpet rolls open, the pattern continually changes. You can only have gathered combinations of colour by looking back, which may lead to individually happy speculations on the immediate change to follow.

For instance: there is a parallel to be drawn between the *μέγας ἑλβος*—the pleurisy of diseased wealth in this

country, and that of the later days of Rome. Probably, the decay of every great and flourishing nation furnishes points of similarity; but they had not the remedies we are now about to propose. This phase never before occurred. The extreme wealth and poverty—the luxury, cheek by jowl with existence, nearly as low as that of the brutes, and a thousand times more painful—the balance in the social scale, whereby those sitting on one end of the plank are elevated to a sickening height, and those on the other depressed in the most forlorn midnight of hopeless misery—making savage life and the state of naked barbarism a blessing beneath Heaven, in comparison to the antagonism of our vaunted civilization—causing the straight line of primæval simplicity to be a desideratum preferable to the cruel tilt which exists in a country like this:—all this has existed before very often, and has ever ended in the wreck of a nation, *without* a speedy renaissance from the dying embers. The case of France was a seeming contradiction of half a century; but her problem is not solved yet.

In our case, by a singular blessing of fortune, should it be carried into effect, a gigantic scheme lies before us, and the gulf may be bridged over—nay, filled up. There exists a method—not a method, that is a word suggestive of legislative smallness, of remedial patching and dwarfish expediency—there exists then a grand plan of redemption, or salvation.

We have an over-population of, say 5,000,000. It is necessary to get rid of these, not absolutely—not, so to speak, to sink them in the sea, as far as the mother country is concerned; or else a pestilence, or a war, on a sufficiently large scale, were better than *Emigration*—but to apply her emigrants to the honour, glory, and

strength of *England*: that is the question. We write as *Englishmen*, who would fain believe in the magic of the name—not as mere citizens of the world; but as these, and yet boasting the proud privilege of birth as well. And we wish that those whom England pours forth from her loins should uphold her in distant climes, as at home. This is not done by peopling the antipodes with a race sprung from convicts and prostitutes, from pensioners and needlewomen; or by any of the branches of the “get-rid-of-them-at-any-price” system. All this only weakens our resources, adds to our expenditure, increases our difficulties, and is cruelly unjust to those sent forth. Emigration is now on a par with the workhouse; save that, in one instance, the wretched of the land are invited by a successful lie, and, in the other, waved off by a vain menace. Necessity, with her iron grappling-hooks, impels to both—

“Clavos trabales et cuneos manu
Gestans aëniâ.”

We maintain that the very evil is not remedied. Such is the expansive power of population in this country, that, as we go on, the vacancies are filled up, more than filled up, each year. It must then be a wholesale system even to unburden us. But what if this repays a noble tribute to British prosperity, if it more than saves, strengthens, fortifies, and places it on a pinnacle above the jealousy of surrounding nations? What, if it gives a new date, a fresh start, an epoch of renewed germination, strikes fresh roots to rear the tottering oak again? Then, it is worth consideration; and to this are the following pages dedicated. We will now proceed to open the whole intention of the work,

already more than suggested by the title;—to show the feasibility of a line of railway across the Canadas, joining the Atlantic and Pacific oceans;—the necessity of this to retain the most important of our colonies, and to keep pace with the vast designs of the United States;—*the possibility of a perfect and unreserved incorporation of Canada with Great Britain, under the same laws, government, privileges, and with a fair amount of representation, as an important integral part of this kingdom; thus to preserve her gloriously, as, with a less cramped and fatal policy, we might have still preserved the fealty and affection of the United States*;—the enormous benefits to be derived from the employment of convict labour; the immense individual advantages to emigrants; the absorption of pauperism and its alchemical translation to comfort, prosperity, and wealth; the relief here, the blessing there; and, finally, the opening of reciprocal commerce with North East China and with Japan by speedy and direct means, and by the unlimited sway of the Chinese seas: thus to extend the broad belt of England in the temperate zone round the world. All this is to be done: for we have the means before us; the time is now arrived; the necessity is urgent. Are we to be blocked out from the commerce of the globe, with worn out India, which we shall not maintain, on our hands; our colonies gone; our insolvency increasing with our cramped population, our debt, and the rivalry of Europe? Such fatal results can alone be avoided, if men, taking a lesson from our wonderful achievements in science, so little anticipated but a short time ago, will not shrink from a design, in mere contemplation of its greatness, its boldness, and the suddenness of its conception.

The legislature of every civilized country, as will be found stated in another part of this work, owe to it to provide every individual with such remuneration for his labour as to enable him to live with comfort: without this, he were better in a barbarous community: without this, he has a right to savage immunities; and game laws,* forest laws; ay, even inclosures of land, are a crying injustice. But the legislators of Great Britain have a higher duty to perform, and owe a far greater responsibility. They are bound to maintain her first in the class of nations, from which position she is fast diverging, with steps visible and invisible. This is the

* It is one of the signs of the times, that landowners are giving up the privilege of rearing and destroying game, as a sop to Cerberus. But as matters are going on, whether game laws be preserved or not, as the luxury of agricultural ease, it appears to us that the land under the present system will revert to its ancient use, the nurture of objects of the chase. Such will be the cycle of events:—barbarism, progression, civilization, high pressure, decay, insolvency, retrogression—a marsh. It is a bad sign when the land cannot afford to protect partridges. All the old characteristics of England are fast fading away: this would be well if we saw the improvement; but, in the pale mechanic, whose little knowledge is a “dark lanthorn to lead his own feet astray” and to light up the misery which surrounds him, one is but reminded of the fruit of ashes gathered by starvation from the boasted tree of knowledge. There is a great deal which should go hand in hand with penny publications and farthing education, or the result is but an improved power of unhappiness. General immorality and vice are spreading; there is a fusion of bad. If startling crime be diminished by gas-light in the streets, the police force, and electro-telegraphs, yet honour, virtue and faith are becoming unknown qualities in this land, only surviving in books of imagination, plays, operas, and romances. Never was wealth so worshipped. Let “King Hudson” produce a balance sheet of £200,000 in his favour *now*, and leave us to swallow the outcry of a nation, and re-deck the abandoned trull of honesty from the ready-made linen warehouse of humbug, hypocrisy and deception.

charter placed in their hands by the generations that have preceded.

When we hear of the bare idea of the cession of colonies, hard earned and kept, to rapacious rivals treading on our heels—when we at times witness the voice of *England* silent and unattended to in the councils of the world *—we tremble for her safe guidance, and, in fear, behold her descending to a fourth-rate nation, trodden down beneath the weight of centuries of envy and hatred, accumulated under her success and triumphs. We have lately seen in a leading journal of this country, the probable loss of the Canadas spoken of without sorrow or amaze; only the manner in which they shall overthrow allegiance being thought worthy of consideration. They are to

* Our present attitude with Greece has led to a variety of remarks upon the conduct of England in her foreign relations; and we cannot help coming to the conclusion that we have of late lost character, and appeared rather as a bully than a hero. Our interference has been for a long time proverbial. We rush into all the squabbles of the world, dictate, menace, promise, exact, even come to blows, and then suddenly start aside, put our hands into our pockets, and wonder what it is all about. We are constitutional, anarchical, serious, indifferent, by no rule but our own. We set up a liberal government here, uphold a tyrant there. We are enthusiastic in our interest about a dispute in Lilliput about which is the right end of an egg, but suffer the great to oppress the small under our very eyes, and the most monstrous and fantastic oppression to take place without an attempt to prevent or vindicate. We come in like the clown to make every body friends, and finish by causing a *mêlée*, from which we abscond. We are consistent only in inconsistency. We possess the hatred of all, by the very fear which we must still inspire, to prevent worse effects than mere hostility in sentiment. Imagine England down. Who would not kick her? In the time of Cromwell, how different the feeling! Then the bare name was the pledge. An Englishman needed no safe-conduct. Respect and admiration followed his steps. Since those days, how much have we gained and lost! We are now growing into a weak giant, whose power is more and more impaired—a mouldering Colossus.

be—"yielded with dignity." England can yield nothing with dignity; the mere imagining of such cessions is the proclamation of her weakness. But is such blindness, such utter midnight of vision, possible? Why! relax but one instant our grasp of the West Indies, for example, and at a swoop they will be eagerly devoured by a more enterprising and worldly nation. Or yield the Canadas—Yield the Canadas?—Cede Ireland! Cede Scotland! and our improvidence could not be more fatal—our dismemberment not more complete. We repeat, we can afford to give up nothing in this manner. From India, or rather the north of it, we must call in our scattered troops ere long, and content ourselves with the Peninsula, which will secure our ocean dominion. India is exhausted; her people are not traders; there is no reciprocity from India; she is in great measure a vast dead tract. China is our centre of attraction; it is so to Russia; it is so to America: but we alone have yet the game of the world in our hands. Shall we tamely, blindly yield it—whilst we experimentalize at home to the ruin of our farmers, by recurring to abstract principles for which we are not, in our present position, fitted, and thereby alone benefit continental nations and the United States?

Behold, we are supplying foreign nations with gold, which by furnishing them with capital will enable them to out-sell our manufacturers through cheapness of labour, and thus present them with the means of improvement, stolen and purchased from ourselves; whilst we tear our own bowels, and set classes at discord, whose example and conduct are necessary to check the progress of folly, socialism, and ochlocracy. We are deluded by a temporary apparent success in these measures, arising only

from the fact that England has been at peace, while the whole continent was torn by dissension; and that America has not yet had time to develop her resources and reinstate her credit, shaken by an early and youthful insolvency. All are, in spite even of this, profiting by our needless folly. In half a dozen years, where is the generous, good-natured, open-countenanced, figurative personification our fathers invented, and called John Bull? His purse disappeared—his watch filched—his hands tied—his capacity for labour exhausted—his patent means of redemption stolen from his grasp.

What is his present condition? His commerce and agriculture, twin sisters of British growth and pride, strangling each other in their death-bed, not their cradle; the law of the country an Augean stable; the most numerous public edifices, poor-law bastilles and prisons; a third navy of convict ships; our grandest schemes, defunct and still-born railways, from anywhere to nowhere, and general piddling expatriation!—Whilst the merchant can no longer struggle hand in hand with honesty, and, we lament to say, that trickery is becoming synonymous with trade: whilst the deteriorated qualities of our export goods are gradually getting us into contempt amid foreign nations, and an English gun, knife, or watch, is pronounced to be emphatically *Brummagem* all over the world.* We can imagine a Tartar or a Chippewa, in some remote region, saying at once with a guttural intonation of disgust, on viewing some article of barter—"Ugh, English! my bro-

* The commencement of this end is already visible. We shall have occasion afterwards especially to refer to the preference shown by Russia to the United States, over English industry and talent.

ther, it is not good." This is not overdrawn: it is the result of competition at home and abroad, under the pressure of national debt and consequent taxation, over population, and greedy misery. This is the present picture, in no part more than slightly, if at all, exaggerated.

Whilst we ruin a farmer, and dig a pitfall for the landowner, but double the income of a German baroness;—whilst we paralyse a British village, a "sweet Auburn of the vale," but pour a golden shower into the dusky lap of some Spanish Algesiras; whilst our possessions slip from our open hand, and a vacant smile illuminates the stolid features of idiotic insolvency—we call for a pause; we beg for a moment's consideration. We ask, if there be a remedy; and for a patient inquiry into the nature of that remedy, if it exists.

Let us here provide against an error of apprehension, which may arise as to our meaning, when we talk of an over-population of 5,000,000. Abstractedly, we do not even admit, far less assert, any such thing. We consider Great Britain capable of maintaining a still greater population. Her uncultivated lands, her waste of provision arising from the excess of luxury, the food which perishes unsold, and the state of the kitchens of the rich, the very provender lavished on horses and dogs,—all this would suffice to provide for millions. Add to this, free-trade with our own possessions, and we might support as many people as could find room on the land to build coverings for their heads. But this is supposing a free circulation, a fair market, the absence of taxes upon necessities, and in fact everything as it is not now. The first thing that would strike a visitant from another globe would be, in this country, the con-

trast of luxury and starvation. What! such a being would exclaim, do you call this *government*? *This* is not a fair division into classes, founded upon birth, industry, or intellect. It is a horrible perversion of the gifts of Heaven. But what legislator considers this? He is the perfection of a great man in the present day, who shall bequeath his charge in a state not worse than he has found it—an improvement, he dares not aim at. He holds but the seal and the keys of expediency. The luxury of a country like England ought alone to bear its taxes. It is in party strife, fomented by the press, that great principles are lost sight of. The present session of Parliament is convened to battle between corn and cotton—one class against another. But to whom reverts the benefit? Has the Government any right to sacrifice the tillers of the ground? We will not increase the circle of disaster at present, beyond this class, although the waves caused by this rock of discord plunged into the social sea, will extend, till they take in every class that floats, and finally beat upon the shore of Revolution. It would be as fair to sweep one-half the funded property of the nation into the coffers of the Government, as to mulct the land of 50 per cent., without remuneration. We must not look to the acquirement of property. Descent is purchase. There are alien and foreign fundholders sharers in British faith. But the farmer and landowner are, also, tenants by faith in protection. Which is the best, the most useful, the most honest class of men? Which has the greater claim to our consideration, forbearance, and care? We say, arrive at the last sacrifice first; for the last will follow. No, rather in the organization of a mighty scheme, by which we may treat with the evil as it is found, avoid all sacrifices.

In the present unburdening of the load which oppresses us, in the successful effort to upheave the nightmare of stagnation which rides upon the country, we shall have time to unweave the net and unrivet the chain. It will give an opportunity of gradual reform. The classes of men, who live by others, must be corrected, not destroyed, as in France; for from thence springs chaos, and it is long ere the spirit of truth dawns upon the waters. A nation rises better from nothing than from anarchy. An old renegado never prospers.

It is plain to us, that, by the destruction of farming interests, the church must fall. Whence do tithes arise? Religion may be the daughter of privation, as she is the step-daughter of prosperity; but when was she not driven from the lap of degraded ruin?

All these considerations are forgotten by journals, that misquote prices and misrepresent facts, in the carelessness of venality, or the hurry of blind conviction. They are overlooked in party strife; and a Cobden, who cries peace, when there is no peace, and invites England not to sheathe, but to break, her sword, in the front of contending nations, whilst the very frenzy of bloodshed seems to animate the world,—such a man may easily be supposed to be misled, or to mislead, with his eternal chatter about trade: he, whose paradise is a factory by a mill-stream, with a mechanics' institute for the tree of useless knowledge, to teach the head of orphans, at whose expense the hands are spinning. Can such a man as this argue? Unfortunately, yes—from minor premises, from illiberal views, from obstinate self-interest: his very ears stopped with cotton! But deal with first principles?—Yes, in their false application. And with sound measures?—Yes, in their exhibition of false prin-

ciples. We shall make no apology for thus speaking at some length, in an Introduction, on this subject; because it is one of vital and pressing interest, and because it bears hard upon our views in showing the necessity of doing something. We do not stop the leak of the vessel, but we rig a gallant jury-mast to bring her into harbour. There arrived, let us careen, caulk, and copper her, at our leisure.

When poor-rates are at an end, when convicts pay, not prey upon, the Government, when paupers cease, when the full tide of the Pacific Ocean pours commerce on our shores, when we have free-trade with our colonies, and dictate to the market of the world,* holding, as we do, the patent in our hand, when we have established the foreign exchange of the world at the standard value of our own productions, and finally with universal and reciprocal free-trade,—then England will be, what she ought to be, the commercial mistress of the globe. Through all this, may her constitution be preserved; since it is the most perfect that has ever been known to man. It may be, that it is time for our glories to cease—that we have arrived at our perihelium to the sun of prosperity, that it is not fated for nations to continue strong, and that we are on the brink of the decline and fall of the British empire. All things alternate, and alternations grow within each other, the small in the great, till the cycle of events be fulfilled. The poles of the earth change, and the sea takes the place of land at mighty intervals of time. So, perhaps, civilization and nations

* “We, as a nation, are in the situation of the holder of a patent right. The produce of other nations must come to us, as there is not a demand for it elsewhere, and we can make our own terms for it.”—*Boydell, on Landed Property.*

fluctuate. The productive power is worn out, and the decay is in proportion to the bloom and vigour. There may be the hand of the Deity in this, who, for his mysterious purposes, may cloud the eyes and darken the understanding, as well as guide the course of events. But, at any rate, it is our duty to ponder and to act, to dare, to struggle and invent, to grapple with the means extended to us, and mould them to our own salvation. Let the heralds of the mock divinity Peace, and the rabid manufacturers, reflect that such a plan as this will do more of necessity to regenerate the universe, and to effect the purpose they pretend to aim at, by bringing the four corners of the earth together, and making nations necessary to each other for existence, luxury, and comfort, than if London were roofed in by Exeter Hall, and a diet of cotton lords determined that no man should carry colour in his face, and that the height of men should be worked down to the standard of Spital-fields—a generation of Louis Blancs and suffering educated ape-dom, melancholy for angels to look down upon.

One more word about the Canadas. It is impossible to imagine that any good friend of this country can seriously recommend that their loss be allowed. We conclude that the pretended view taken by some to this effect is to intimidate the Canadians by saying, “See what will become of you without us. Only try.” But it is bad policy to open the window to the young bird and preach of kites. It is better to liberate the prisoner, but retain him by good treatment. Our plan is to conciliate Canada, and make her our own for ever. This can only be done by giving her all the advantages of our own constitution and our own laws and privileges.

Why should we not fully recognize our own child as worthy of its inheritance? Our policy, if that can be called policy which gains only to lose, and makes success the harbinger of deprivation—our policy has hitherto been to nurse and suckle with our own blood a giant progeny, which we abandon at the moment a return is fairly to be anticipated. The French are bad colonizers. The better for them, if the end of things is to be looked at. They, at any rate, preserve respect within their own boundaries, whilst we, grasping at all, and losing all in turn, forfeit the infallibility of Englishmen. And that is much to a country situated as we are.

The late speeches in the House on the subject of colonies are the perfection of failures. What do they announce?—A lament over impossibilities, which statesmen should never admit, and which Napoleon rightly banished from the vocabulary of governments. What! recede from the Canadas? Let us show that it is frenzy, nay, imbecility, to do so!

The conduct of statesmen appears to be now to toss their oars, and wait for the current of popular feeling to land them somewhere—in a haven, a harbour,—or the mud. The pride of members of Parliament appears to be to look out for, and eagerly pick up, hints from the Press. Formerly, the newspapers followed the proceedings, and commented upon the conduct of legislators. Formerly, public opinion was reserved to estimate, approve or censure the measures of statesmen for the public good. The highest aim of British policy appears now to be, not to commit so gross a political error as to draw down the sneers and laughter of the whole continent. There is a prevalent cant about justice to the world and Europe, whilst we abandon our own interests, like a foolish old Lear.

Not so : for *he* trusted to his daughters—*we* to the gratitude of Greece, Portugal, and Spain, the sympathy of Russia, the forgiveness of Turkey and Denmark, the friendship and *bonhomie* of France, the cousinship of Austria and Prussia, the thanks of Sicily, the respect of Italy, the reciprocal generosity of Belgium and Holland, the enthusiasm of Germany for the land of Shakespeare, and lastly to the family love of the United States—whilst we sacrifice the interests of our colonies, and create for ourselves a national Cordelia.

It is true that now-a-days ministers have much to struggle against. They are habitually condemned by anticipation. They cannot move without being censured, or even succeed without being blamed. Stringent or lax, they are alike subject to a mock impeachment or a literary crucifixion. In the present diversity of public opinion, it is certainly difficult *ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet*. But the helmsman should steer undismayed amid shoals, without heeding the murmurs, or suggestions, of the curious and the timid. Such is not the case ; and yet inquiry only ends in subterfuge, or an answer is evaded by a speech.

The great colonial enunciations in Parliament lately have been those of lamentation for evils past and present—mere funeral orations upon neglected advantages, accompanied by a list of petty amendments, amongst which our most important, most necessary and valuable colony of the Canadas is next to omitted. No trifling measure will do there. Lose her, and you lose the world. By a generous and extended policy you can alone retain her.

Of the natural gifts of Canada we shall speak hereafter ; as well as of her resources, her increasing population, and her just claim upon us. It is at once cowardly

to desert her and to tyrannize over her. She is everything to us now. Our safety, our glory, depend upon her. Are we to yield the fairest gem of our Colonial diadem amid the blindness of petty discord and partizan fury, and in framing paltry schemes of dwarfish legislation? Are our senses to be stupified by speechifying? Are we to be mesmerized into apathy by a folly too grievous to think of? People of England, *awake!* You possess everything. You act as if you had nothing. You are too sensitive to assert your own rights. You are too nice to employ your strength; and, with the cant of abstract universal philanthropy, you yield up your dearest privileges to your enemies. Again, we say, *People of England, awake!* Do not yield an inch of ground: do not cede a point. If you have been tyrannical formerly, at least show consistency in the character, or you will sink into contempt. Preserve the Canadas, as the means of salvation. Nuture your other colonies as best you can.

Of what comparative consequence is Australia to England? The convict child cannot, it is true, as yet expect to walk without leading-strings. If it does, it may perish. But what is that to us? We mean, looking at the situation of that great continent, its productions as far as they are known to us, and its history past and probable, we could afford, saving the prestige, to let Australia shift for herself. Her conquest was discovery. Her dominion, like that of Canada and the Cape, was not sealed by British blood. Regiments and armies have not perished there. She is not a sentinel and a bulwark between us and a rival power. We have no fleets on her inland lakes: she is not the high road to the traffic of China. Under any circumstances, she will remain an outlet for voluntary expatriation. But with regard to

CANADA, to yield her were an act of suicide—an act to brand the Government of Great Britain with the stamp of immortal imbecility. Nay, even to contemplate it, is to be traitor to good sense, the nation, and the country. I say the country, as the broader term; for the nation is that which exists now; but our posterity is heir, as well as ourselves, of that for which our ancestry fought. It will be the act of a gambler or an idiot to cut off this great entail; and, if folly ever lose its boundary in crime, this would be crime against the nation. Therefore let those into whose hands is the great trust confided look to this emergency, and provide against the crisis that approaches rapidly; not by a continuation of cramped and narrow policy, unfair exactions, favouritism, and the conduct which has hitherto but served to alienate our absent children, but by broad, and wise, and fair measures. Give the Canadas our privileges. Make their birth-right ours. Give them honours and titles and places, and make it a glory to be a British Canadian. Conciliate, instead of disgusting, her people; and whilst we do this, let us remember, that it is our own preservation to do so, our own salvation to be just. Let us consider the immense advantages that will accrue to us in detail, whilst we arrive at a great final point. Let it be seen that we shall transfuse new blood into our shrinking veins, that we shall regenerate the condition of those whose position here is worse than that for which it is the duty of legislation to provide.

Let us forget the past, but look steadily to the future. Let the dead bury their dead, but let the living feed their living.

The time has now arrived for Britain to stand or fall. Overgrown and overburdened, she must either sink into

the lap of Fate with the supine nod of apoplectic apathy, or dozing imbecility, awaking thence to degradation and ruin ; or on the other hand, she must seize a noble occasion for renovated activity, and lay claim to the renewed supremacy of the world. The time has now arrived : the nations are looking at us with wonder and expectation. Shall a constitution, which Europe could not destroy, perish by its own hands, whilst there is a means to save—perish, through the folly of prejudice, the exuberance of cant, the indifference or incapacity of rulers, or that singular epidemic of blindness, for which the next generation shall mourn, but in vain attempt to account ?

Leave off, for awhile, your African slave-coast blockades, your universal art-expositions, your exportations of Magdalens, and even your drainage of sewers ; however necessary this latter may be to ward off Heaven's emigration agent, lurid Cholera, and his lean clerk Famine. Cease to let the little weazened mechanic dance down the honest rotundity of the starving agriculturist, and declare that the salvation of all things consists in converting the labourer's smock-frock into the operative's blouse. These are measures, some pretty in themselves, and others mere progeny of humbug, that will not buckler Britannia from ruin, or save more than her little finger from the prick of a needle. This is the thimble-rig of politics : but let your project be vast and comprehensive. Make your railway across Northern America ; employ your convicts and paupers ; bring China here, and annex Canada with an additional blazonry to the Arms of the United Kingdom, a blade of corn, or a pine leaf entwined with the rose, shamrock and thistle ; and then you may turn your attention to financial reforms, domestic policy,

and the squabbles of the Greek, or Italian ; and let the manufacturer and the agriculturist run an innocent tilt with each other in a field of broad-cloth, or clover, if they please, and provide for the amusement, not pander to the injury, of the nation.

A. B. R.

Temple, March 25th, 1850.

CHAPTER I.

COLONIZATION.

THE real wealth of a nation does not consist in the richness and diversity of its natural products, the temperature of its climate, or the advantages of its geographical position ; but in the numerical strength of its population, the aptitude of its people for labour, and the facilities afforded for the exercise of their genius and industry. Without this, the richest regions of the earth are but as barren deserts, where man, called into being merely to find existence an incumbrance, lives, like the inferior animals, only to tax Nature with the incessant exigencies of his necessities and wants, without ingenuity or means in himself, or faculty exerted under direction, to contribute to her prolific tendencies, recruit her exhaustions, or increase the sum of his human happiness, by the practice of those arts conceived to multiply the objects of his comfort and enjoyment. Such care, however, is the mission of civilized man : to him Nature, through all her reigns, is fertile of pleasure and resource : the very elements he subjects to his use ; and, from the vilest and rudest objects of creation, he extracts means and appliances, either necessary to the actual maintenance of his being, or contributive to the luxury of the senses. Before him deserts disappear, and nature beneath his hand puts on a new face ; for everything on earth, being turned to

his purpose, assumes particular value, and becomes matter of property ; till agriculture, commerce, manufactures, chemistry, and every art and science connected with them, perpetually exerted in universal attempts to multiply fresh conceptions of invention or improvement, exhaust at last the most fanciful ingenuity of man ; till, by ceaseless competition and over-production, every field of industry, genius, and enterprise, becomes glutted and impeded. Such a critical condition is invariably attended with superabundant population, and the consequent result of progressive prosperity, so inviting to life and favourable to existence, renders at last the original blessing of accumulating numbers perplexing to Governments and a burthen to the soil.

In the infancy of States, every fresh birth, by adding a new member destined to contribute to the work of growing prosperity, however humble he may be in the sphere of his individual utility, is naturally regarded as a welcome accessory to the productive body or defensive force ; but the time arrives at last when the consummation of institutions, and plenitude of welfare, renders even labour—that *real* wealth of communities—superabundant to the wants ; and every new life becomes a charge burthensome to established resource, which, despite of every means that public government or private enterprise can devise, must, after the revolution of ages, inevitably become liable to limitation and ultimate obstruction. In the uncivilized condition of savage life, the denizen of the wild finds his allotted provision distributed for his use over the face of nature : the mountain and the valley, the forest and the plain, are a common estate, where the fruit and root, in the impartial bounty of Providence, are the property of all who have

a mind to gather. Every tree is at the service of his tomahawk : every spot free to his selection for the site of his wigwam : his arrow is the charter of his chace, and the waters are his larder by right of ingenuity. The child of nature has to toil at the bidding of no master : his time and movements are independent of the will and caprice of others : he has to doff his cap to no conventional superiority ; nor has he to vindicate his right to respect on the strength of adventitious privileges and fanciful assumptions. He has not to blush for the obscurity of his birth, the meanness of his attire, and poverty of his home ; since all his fellow-men round, and above him, are alike subject to the same destinies.

It is true that these advantages, provided in the primæval plan of nature, are accompanied by many distasteful conditions, when compared by civilized man with the supposed superiorities of happiness and accommodation he is born to enjoy. First, the savage is benighted in the darkness of brute ignorance, and degraded in the indulgence of barbarous propensities : he is exposed to the misery of imperfect shelter from the season's vicissitudes, and is destitute of a thousand comforts and conveniences indispensable to the inhabitants of cities. He is unprovided by governmental economy against the failure of nature's aliments, and is exposed to the scalping-knife of hostile tribes or to the fury of beasts of prey ; while his thousand and one little interests are undefended by any system of law. He possesses nothing which can be called property ; or, did he boast of such a possession, its tenure could only be temporary and insecure. He has not the benefit of science : he does not enjoy the luxury of arts ; whilst he is ignorant of the pleasures of gentle intercourse with civilized fellows. Are all these advan-

tages in *reality* enjoyed by the bulk of society in a high state of civilization, to indemnify the common class for the privation of their free and equal rights to the bountiful provision which should be theirs, according to the original scheme of nature? No: for, after the arrival of society at a certain degree of civilized perfection, man, as a *mere* man, unpossessed of the conventional dignity of birth, property, and scholastic knowledge, deteriorates in importance and value to a state far beneath the unreclaimed savage. He has to crouch in the mortified sense of hopeless dependence and privation, under the endless arrogations and assumptions of hereditary opulence and privileged luxury, and to confound his misery and insignificance among the abject millions, who toil in the irksome exercise of routinary labour, with horny hand and sweating brow, for the scanty, precarious, and disputed morsel necessary to the bare existence of life. He has to conform, for no very apparent advantage to himself—but for the benefit and pleasure of others—to all the artificial forms, relations and obligations, usages, proprieties, prejudices, wants, and dependencies, proper to civilized institutions: to fetter his will and action, restrain his tastes, divert his inclinations, and subdue them to obedience under the authority of absolute laws, which oppose his natural bias at every turn. Gradually shut out from nature, and condemned, as it were, to a living death; hedged and walled off from every acre by the voice of exclusive proprietorship universally exclaiming—“This is mine, and that is mine”—he is doomed to languish in the cribbed alley, or the dark mews, penned in the cabin or workshop, boxed in the attic or stifled in the cellar, with countless multitudes of fellow miserables.

For voluntary submission to such a fate, at the expense

of the natural freedom and equal rights, designed by Providence as man's inherent portion, surely this compensation at is least due—*assured labour*—and its legitimate reward, *bread*. This, every civilized government is fairly and imperatively bound, as a primary and conditional obligation, to provide; and *this*, every man, as the price of his renunciation of original independence, and for the respectful obedience he observes to the obligations and laws imposed upon him by society, is justified in *demanding*. How willingly would the multitude, struggling to support existence in the desperate conflict for bread which now prevails in our cities, relieve authority from all care of providing for their necessities, were they but free to repudiate the artificial state, and seek shelter in the cavern, and food in the field; to hunt the forest, and purvey from the waters! But caverns are the property of landlords: fields are monopolized by right of farm: the forests are guarded by armed keepers; nor must the hungry pretend to fish the waters; for these also are the appurtenance of happier men. Nay—the starving citizen must not even “wander for lack of food”—for that is a condition of vagabondage; and, although that is the natural and primary state of man, to which, in destitution, he instinctively reverts, it is constituted a crime against civilized society. Thus when man is proscribed from the free face of nature, to prosecute, perforce, the sordid arts of the city, for the sole means of supporting the burthen of life, ought not these acts to be subjected to such wise economy and direction that labour should be found as ready to the want of every candidate, resigned to live only by its exercise, as is the produce of the wild to the children of nature, which, in the interest of a civi-

lized community, the bulk of men have abandoned for the wages of artificial industry? Those wages, then, the community fairly owes; and they are naturally and justly claimable by all who tender the equivalent of labour. To shut up men in cities, and confine their restricted footsteps to the prisoned thoroughfares—condemned to work, or to die; while yet permitting the price of labour to fluctuate betwixt abuse and dearth—just as the private convenience and caprice of speculation, or the exigencies of season and accidental circumstance may suggest the disposal of human hands and necessities—is assuring the chance on the side of suffering and destruction; and those who claim honour in the government of States in which millions of able-bodied industrials struggle against idleness and constant famine, are deceivers of society and subverters of God's law—God, that bountiful God, who never intended that millions should accuse His providence, and regard life as a curse; nor that they should find every natural appetite unsatisfied, and death a welcome release from the pain of obtruding their superfluous and contemned existence upon a happier order of society. This, we repeat, is not the law of God, nor should it be the law of man; and when the evil, precipitated at length by a long succession of causes, assumes the extreme gravity of a dark and threatening climax, we will not suffer the arbiters of our social destinies to impute the blame to accident, to fate, or to the improvidence of society itself; for the cause originates in governmental vice, and has been perpetuated by blindness or indifference, engendered in the pursuit of self-aggrandizement; by the absorbing interests of party intrigue and foreign policy, and by the fatal sacrifice and neglect of the moral and political state of

the people, their interests and growing wants. Thus the corroding mischief has become, perhaps, incurable ; and now, that it rapidly creeps to the very core of the great social body, our rulers, in perplexity and alarm, are compelled to calculate its progress, and define the malady, which in tenderness for the memory of their predecessors, and in self-justification, they would call—" *Over-population.*"

OVER-POPULATION ! With our colonial dependencies, comprehending a third of the habitable globe ; with alien subjects gathered to the British sceptre amounting to five times the number of British born ; our merchants at the head of universal commerce : with the supremacy of the seas, with our armies in every climate ; and, yet, with only a native population of 27,000,000, we are suffocating under a plethora of human life !* Without looking back to causes, otherwise than to take note that the present condition of the British community is a consequence conspicuous in the history of all great nations in their maturity, ever since the creation—for time and misgovernment will gradually impress the same fatal mark upon all commonwealths—let us here only deal with effects. Since the inhabitants have

* There is some difference of opinion between the authors of this work on the subject of the capability of Great Britain to maintain a far greater population, under very different circumstances. In one thing they both agree, viz., as to its present superabundance. There is great general difference of opinion as to what might be done, with proper cultivation and a free circulation of money. Bishop Watson states the number at 30,000,000 ; Dr. Hall, at 90,000,000 ; the Earl of Lauderdale, at 180,000,000 ; and the historian Alison, at 120,000,000. The late Bishop of Llandaff was of a similiar opinion as to the undeveloped resources of Great Britain, *where so many thousands now struggle with starvation.* But we throw this aside, and say, at any rate, let our own possessions, the colonies, be our store-houses, our pastures, and our granaries.

been improvidently and imperceptibly permitted to outgrow all facile means of existence, their numbers have necessarily become a superflux. In this sense, Great Britain is not only over-peopled at this actual period of time ; but, considering the rapid increase of life in the last thirty years, and the swarms of infant population that flood the streets of our cities, towns, villages, and hamlets, the evil threatens enormous and steady aggravation. Viewing with this the similar condition of the Continent, the fictitious prosperity of our country on one hand, and its *real* difficulties on the other, a decrease of even the inadequate means we possess, which we apprehend no reform of system, no political ingenuity, no financial subterfuge, will now have time to remedy and replenish—unless by some signal and decisive measure adopted in prudent contempt of all petty and gradual schemes of speculative amelioration, and utopian experiments—let us hope that energetic rulers will be found to meet the emergency with bold promptitude at once ; who, in the impossibility to create sufficient means to relieve the multitude, will not hesitate to dispose of the said multitude in a manner to make our restricted means suffice. Till then, embarrassment and obstruction must increase the struggle for elbow-room ; accumulating difficulty upon difficulty, sacrifice upon sacrifice, concussion upon concussion, until “ confusion become worse confounded,” and nothing of all the present be worth the rescue.

Now, this ominous state of things is most distinctly discerned and precisely estimated by the lower classes of this country ; while, animated at the prospect, the enemies of order, though hitherto miraculously repressed, continue to foment trouble and discontent, by inoculating

the masses with the wildest theories of communism and anarchy. True, the middle classes, or rather the intermediate order between these and the substrata of the social mass, have hitherto most happily acted in defence of property and law; and the calm tranquillity which has consequently reigned throughout these territories, during this last eventful year, when every other country of Europe was torn by convulsionary excess, has been a glorious demonstration of most assuring effect. But was the middle class for all that untainted with the epidemic of discontent, and does it continue still to desire to preserve and maintain the present condition of things? By no means, for its wisdom and moderation, during the late throes of our political state, resulted principally from experience, gained at the expense of France, and from its being justly alarmed too at the dangers menacing private interests, which every proprietor had to apprehend through the principles announced by the revolutionary agitators. But the crisis weathered, and private property assured, what is the state of opinion with these middle classes who ranged themselves so opportunely on the side of government and order? They are writhing still under the shock of ruined projects of speculative railroads, profusely numerous and superfluously imagined: discomfited and interdicted too by the paralysis of continental trade, they are aghast at the continual spread of bankruptcy, and the accompanying disease of credit and confidence. Comparing notes, and assuming their true sentiments, we now contemplate them gradually shifting their bias to make common cause with the humbler orders, inclined to join with them in combined agitation for the most subversive reforms—rash schemes of financial experiments—reductions of revenue—the disarmament of the country—revolutions

in trade—change of external policy; until we now behold a rapidly-increasing body, hitherto attached to all the present existing system of Government, actively deliberating the five points of the notorious Charter. But suppose that even these were granted—and what may ministers not be driven to concede in these times? New *demands* would only be preferred with increasing clamour and untired pertinacity, only to be jealously resisted at first, and hesitatingly accorded at last, for the public malady is beyond the power of every ordinary legislative panacea; and the general uneasiness being certain to continue, despite of political empyricism, it threatens ere long to hurry the country on to the most desperate and irretrievable changes. In token of which, review the progress of innovation and reform, since Lord John Russell, in his ministerial authority, so emphatically proclaimed some eighteen years ago the decisive *arrêt* of finality. Why, the mania for change has only increased with each ministerial surrender till absolutely wearied with novel enactments passed, passing, or projected, we have scarcely interest enough left to inquire where it is to stop; while the only correct answer which might be given to such query is this:—“It will stop, and stop only, when people are reconciled to existence by sufficient room, and proper encouragement for enterprize and labour.”

But, in adverting to enterprize and labour we will not confine the question to those only in connection with the simple working-men, but let us include members of every grade and class, all less or more suffering from the vice and errors of a system consuming under gangrene, without a remedy for the evil. In corroboration, behold, first, to what a lamentable extent the lordly hereditaments of our noblest families are mortgaged and

embarrassed, engaged in plebeian hands; while the maintenance of aristocratic privileges and distinctions is fast devolving into a life and death struggle, and the inferior members of the patrician body are seizing the hint to merge, and confound themselves with the mass, by ready association in mercantile speculations and pursuits: thus, not only promoting the levelling idea by a voluntary renouncement of distinction, but by exposing their fortunes in this manner to the vicissitudes of chance. Thus many of them are precipitating their descent, and rendering their future retrieval of family honours problematical, indeed. In contrast with these portentous signs of aristocratic decline, we behold cotton lords, iron magnates, and railroad kings, treading on the heels of the patrician *élite*, and pushing them from their stools, on the strength of opulence, often as false as their personal right by virtue of worth, simplicity, and moderation, to dispute the superiority of noble blood. Such men, in the *parvenu* exultation of acquired wealth, think they can, and *should*, supersede the dignifying prestige associated with historic names.*

Meantime the followers of the learned professions and the fine arts are multiplied to excess, and either self-exalted far above their proper and inherent level in society, or debased far below it:—men who should be unassuming indeed, unless warranted by patent talent in the vindication of their claims to high gentility. These continually subject themselves, by mutual rivalry in ostentatious pretension and display, to the cruel necessity of outward show on the one side, and of the secret struggle against

* The effect of the decline of the aristocratical interest on the House of Commons, and upon the constitution and prosperity of England, will be treated of in the latter part of this work.

crushing embarrassment and bitter privation on the other. Thus they swarm our cities and towns to their common detriment and obstruction, subsisting as if by miracle, and very many of them dying—alas!—in utter insolvency, betraying, in the sudden destitution of their bereft families, that the lives of the deceased, when not openly convicted of beggary, were at best but a long struggle of specious imposture. The merchant, rebutted at every point, where his predecessors in commerce gathered proverbial prosperity, has long had to contend against the active increase of continental and colonial competition ; till, more especially of late, shaken, and involved by the political convulsions and subversions of so many foreign states, he shrinks from those bold strokes of commercial enterprize that heretofore characterised the British trader—timidly paltering, and finessing in affairs, in a manner which is fast committing our mercantile repute, and fain to hug his damaged capital in times so perilous, while daubing the varnish of simulated prosperity over his real state of secret anxiety and tribulation. Meantime the manufacturer, constantly checked and suspended by overglutted markets, is obliged to watch for seasonable occasions, whose advent only aggravates the general calamity, by communicating false *stimuli* to trade, always followed by periodical languor, and the starvation of thousands out of work. Our petty traders, or shopkeepers, are habitually passing, as a matter of course, through the insolvent and bankruptcy courts, precipitated thither by practices of artifice and expediency which their fathers would have regarded as infamy. Even farming threatens to become a department of gambling, and the green face of England will shortly resemble the green cloths, round which blacklegs and victims congregate for games

of hazard, with the certainty of ruin to all who have the temerity to risk a stake upon it. The artisan and agricultural labourer walk hand in hand with starvation and mendicity, irritated to sentiments of vindictive discontent in every county and city, from the desolate and evicted cottiers of South Uist, to the squalid peasantry of Wilts and Dorsetshire, from the famished weavers of Scotland's far north, to the perishing multitude of Spitalfields, clubbing themselves in formidable bodies in combined ramifications all over the country, for the object of meditated mischief and insurrection, as soon as time and opportunity present the expected signal. The workhouses, multiplied over the land, are crowded with tenants degraded from every walk of life; while the prisons not only rival them in the multitudes they immure, but even the walls of the gaol are courted by a throng of our otherwise honest poor, as enviable asylums from the worse hardships of out-door misery.

Servile employments and petty offices, which the well-born and educated would have scorned a little while ago as stations derogatory from their class and capacity, are sought with avidity by eager candidates of genteel grade, too happy to obtain them. True is it, however, despite of all this festering wretchedness, this colossal misery and suffering, that the fairest paint and varnish still deck the reeking sepulchre. The mansions of the great still shine with their wonted festivities, the gayest equipages of the whole world parade our streets. Money flows to and fro in its usual current at the Bank; the customary crowds, with all the external show of seeming prosperity, still bustle upon 'Change; shop-windows are brilliantly bedizened; and true is it also, that ALL the workmen do not *starve* and *slumber*.

But still, maugre this outward show, there is rottenness within ; and the bulk of society is disguised in a mock Carnival held during the secret necessity of a real Lent ; while the man of spirit and enterprize, who would force a passage through the anxious and jealous throng, is checked and repelled at every move ; and from the innumerable schemes and experiments afloat, begotten in distress or desperation, the most feasible and legitimate projects are scouted as presumptuous quackery, or sneered at as visionary rashness. So that genius and dulness, industry and idleness, are all confounded in the hopeless scramble, levelled by general necessity and distress into a forced equality, which has suggested those principles of Communism that now so widely mystify the human mind.

Many, of course, who are themselves exempt from the weight of the general pressure will deem the picture just exhibited a gross exaggeration ; and from the cushion of their own comparative ease will point to innumerable proofs of England's unparalleled prosperity at this very time being. They, perhaps, can adduce the refreshing example of a wide circle of friends affluent as themselves, and advert to the general appearance of the community in every district as obvious testimony of public ease and contentment. But let it be observed that no people either individually or collectively are wont to proclaim their distresses ; still less in a commercial and ostentatious community are persons apt to parade appearances detrimental to their credit. The decline of nations is never immediately manifest in its indiscriminate effect upon private fortunes.* Venice, in

* It is, in insolvencies and bankruptcies. Regard the last fifty years of England's history. Look at the last four years of merchants' failures,

her prostration, has still her wealthy citizens and gay displays. Fallen Rome still vindicates her importance and pretended prosperity, in spite of rottenness and ruin. Spain, fallen from her glorious position to become a third-rate nation, still vaunts power, credit and resources she does not possess. So the human victim, stricken with consumption, still boasts of health and strength, till the last moment of doomed existence. But to such as would deny the truth of our summary sketch of England's misery, we propose this challenge—Let us indiscriminately stop any hundred men in any of our public thoroughfares, and prevail upon them to make frank confession of their real condition, and we will engage our life that eighty at least of the number will have a tale of secret suffering to unfold, and crying wrongs to denounce—harassed by tribulation in the present, and painfully perplexed for the future. Consult the advertising columns of our numerous public journals—contemplate our Police and County Courts—interrogate the parish officers—examine the prisons for debt, and public hospitals. Survey the union workhouses. Cast your eyes on the “looped and ragged wretchedness,” that besets the streets and highways, entreating us for bread. Have not the recent investigation into the causes of the still lingering cholera, instituted throughout the country, exposed the most appalling pictures of human wretchedness, visited upon thousands crowded in the living sinks existent in all our cities, where British poverty cowers in the most

the winter of 1847, when money was tight, as it is called in one phase of the monetary *see-saw*—exceeding all that experience teaches has ever taken place in a *prosperous* and *flourishing* country in the history of the world. In the year 1849, it is stated that £50,000,000 was the sum in mercantile failures.

hideous squalor and degradation—multitudes being regarded as overrunning vermin, whose extinction would be a blessing to society? Is not Ireland one entire Golgotha, strewed with the carcasses of her famished children? Are the Scotch peasantry not beginning to emulate their Irish neighbours in petition to the United Empire for relief; while, driven from their country like the black cattle of their mountains, they are departing in droves of thousands to seek subsistence, or a grave, in lands beyond the farthest seas? * Let us glance for awhile at the *pauper* condition of Great Britain. In 1844, we relieved, in England and Wales, 1,477,561, or a proportion of $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population: a large number of these were permanent paupers; but it is concluded that about half a million more received casual relief; so that the number of persons relieved in England and Wales in the course of the parochial year 1844 may be taken at about two millions, or nearly one-eighth part of the actual population. By the latest Parliamentary return, it appears that at Lady-day, 1847, there were 1,471,133 relieved in England and Wales. At Lady-day, 1848, there were 1,626,201. Out of this last number, there were upwards of 50,000 able-bodied men! † With respect to Ireland, Mr. Bright, on the 5th of July, 1849, in a speech at Manchester, stated, as a fact derived from strict investigation, that 237,000 of the Irish popu-

* Read the late speech of the Earl of Mountcashel, to see the sufferings of *Emigration*, as it is recommended by a timid and paltering policy, to ease the nation at the price of these poor souls. Also, some late articles in the *Morning Advertiser* and other journals *passim*.

† 57,000. This is from the Parliamentary Report, and, we believe, underrated. We may say in round numbers, 3,000,000 receive relief in Great Britain annually. The poor-rates are about £8,000,000 per annum.

lation are in the union workhouses ; and 758,000 are receiving not casually, but permanently, moderate assistance, in the shape of out-door relief. The expenditure of 585 Unions in England and Wales, in 1843-44, was nearly £5,000,000. Let us now regard the state of the metropolis of England. Those excellent publications, the *City of London Mission Magazine* and the *Ragged School Magazine*, from well-ascertained facts, have computed that, in London, 12,000 children are trained in crime ; 3,000 persons are receivers of stolen goods ; 4,000 are annually committed for crimes ; 10,000 are addicted to gambling ; 20,000 to begging ; 30,000 live by theft and fraud ; 23,000 are found helplessly drunk in the streets ; 150,000 are habitual gin-drinkers ; and 150,000 live in systematic prostitution and profligacy.* What a difference between these statements and the returns of the year 1730, little more than a century ago, before the word *pauper* was used, when the inmates of the workhouse were called the "*Family*." The first workhouse, after three years, only contained sixty-two inmates. With regard to the *crime* of Great Britain, in spite of this provision, in 1848, the number of offences amounted in England and Wales, to 30,349 ; Ireland, 38,522 ; and Scotland, 4,909. For the Metropolitan Police, in London alone, the sum expended was, £374,929 ; for the City Police, £40,453. In fine, England, having outgrown her resources, preserves her supremacy only by fictitious means—subject to occasional panics, she has only to sustain some signally severe reverse to behold

* In Scotland, in 1845, the poor's rate was £185,000. It is now, since the operation of free-trade, £560,000. In Glasgow, in 1846, the poor's rate was £30,000, now £200,000. In 1846, there were relieved 7,400 persons ; in 1849, 50,000.

the entire of her false scaffolding hurled prostrate to the ground. With so marvellous an augmentation of population since the peace, we have necessarily to apprehend the same progressive fecundity, attended with similar disproportion of resource; consequences proceeding in inverse ratio, which, in a very few years, must render all government impossible. What then is the remedy? Why one which nature, common sense, and the perpetual examples, illustrated in the histories of all people, significantly and emphatically proclaim; and that is *diminution* of numbers, not by the partial dissemination and dispersion of fugitive individuals here and there, but by a grand uncompromising system of Emigration—**WHOLE-SALE EMIGRATION.**

CHAPTER II.

EMIGRATION.

ALL gregarious beings, consorting together by intuitive impulse, maintain that propensity only as long as they are not incommoded in freedom of action, and facility of pasture, by supernumerary increase ; but no sooner are they impeded in these respects, than, mysteriously actuated by a principle of conservative instinct, they segregate for the object of easier subsistence and freer convenience, just as spontaneously as when they originally combined in family. The grazing kind, dividing their herd, seek separate feeding grounds. The carnivorous order almost immediately acknowledge that law, by dispersing for the purpose of unobstructed provision, as soon as their matured strength and increased wants demand free scope for chace ; while many of the *rodentia* class conform to the decree by actually devouring each other. Birds, warned by the seasons, scatter their flocks ; and the bee—that interesting exemplar of social economy, so faithfully attached and laboriously devoted to the common good of the hive—no sooner finds his habitation over-peopled, and the public *pabulum* rendered thereby inadequate, than, forming one of a distinct swarm, he summarily abandons, in a body, or swarm, the home of his birth and past instinctive affection, to found an asylum elsewhere.

Even so, human communities, equally admonished

by Nature, are similarly disposed to disperse, under like circumstances, to those localities where the more liberal distribution of earthly good allures with promise of happier existence; but they rarely volunteer to fulfil this impulse by solitary expedition, or in feeble sections: for man, endowed with understanding to calculate the advantages of numerical strength, both for the purpose of defence, and of procuring provision for his manifold wants—best attained by the combined support of industrial co-operation—must always feel it his necessary interest to engage as many companions as he can possibly enlist in his migrations. And thus, in the early stages of society, we find families swollen into tribes, and tribes into nations, wandering the earth in search of fortune; till, at a more advanced condition of the social state, they settle in cities, and multiply into empires, only to arrive, in the process of time, to the necessity of again breaking up, to resume their peregrinations, in order to relieve themselves from the gradual accumulation of difficulty and distress incurred through redundancy of number and mutual obstruction.

Thus, history teems with records of entire nations abandoning the soil of their ancestors to establish dominion elsewhere. For, learning by experience how little a nation is relieved by the imperceptible diminution of numbers, when once its population swarms beyond its means, we find people everywhere, in the history of man, flying from the local misery of over-growth to migrate in masses. That this occasional necessity, visited upon society, is an eternal decree, involved in the grand scheme of creation, is established by reference to the earliest books of holy writ, in which we find the patriarchs commanded to remove with their families from the lands

of their nativity in quest of new establishments in distant countries; until, at last, we behold the whole nation, composed of God's chosen people, under divine inspiration, His pillar for their Guide, and Moses for their General, penetrating through deserts, to occupy the land of their inheritance. Even so, the archives of the profane nations, nay, of *all* nations, up to remotest antiquity, commemorate similar transits of entire communities, only to remove once more at later periods, leaving the very sites of their original sojourn scarcely more than conjectural through the faint traces of distant tradition. The new nationality of these becoming, in time, once more obliterated by overwhelming invasions of colonizing adventurers, are forced, under necessity for room, to abandon in turn the soil of their birth in search of a new home. Nay—Nature herself, by the alternate vicissitudes to which in her productive attributes she is so mysteriously subjected, seems by her own law to impel mankind to periodical expatriations; since those countries which formerly must have teemed with all the necessities of life, when peopled by powerful nations, are now, in so many instances, wild barren wastes, even destitute of the barest produce available for human sustenance, and this in defiance of all renewed culture; while vegetable provision profusely abounds in spontaneous growth, wherever modern empires now flourish. For, as if it were ordained that only a certain number of living inhabitants should be allotted at any one time to the earth, beyond which it is impossible to multiply the species, we find that, as fast as population increases in one region it decreases in another; and, therefore, society thus ordered, and restricted, is destined in perpetual mutation to make the round of the world, suc-

regulation and political influence of provinces and cities.

It was by migrations of imposing bodies of a military character, ejected from this country on the restoration of monarchy after the wars of the commonwealth, and the dispersion of disbanded soldiery and semi-military malcontent citizens, that British America rose so rapidly into importance and power. It was by expeditions of great military strength, covering an accompanying mass of civil colonists *en suite*, that we have seen the French nation in our days establish and consolidate a general and substantial power in Algeria, in less than seven years time. But indifferent to these and other numerous examples, and in despite of our natural disposition, above all other people, to emigrate, Government has never effectually promoted British interests in this respect, by converting this nationally inherent propensity to some far more transcendent purpose than generally marks the direction and object of our colonial settlements. It has never directed, as should have been the case, the stream to such eligible and approximate parts of the globe as would be best calculated by immediate and incorporate connection with ourselves, to support British strength and influence, by rendering every citizen detaching himself from our native soil to inhabit there, still preserved to his government and race, while made contributory to the best welfare of the mother-country; but, on the contrary, alas, we are still doomed to behold public and private speculators on the errant predilections of our English nature dissipating our countrymen upon colonies remote and far between, commonly selected in temporary expediency and haste, as mere maritime or commercial stations; often only to

promote some deceptive and narrow view of private self-interest, without any reference whatever to their natural and convenient adaptation, by climate and soil, to the constitution and habits of the British born and bred.

Thus, we behold the map studded with a numerous diversity of English colonies, planted as if at hazard, without unity and connection ; many of them incapable, by any management whatever, to become of very material importance ; some whose utility is not only equivocal, but ascertained to be highly prejudicial, both as to expense and the perpetual misunderstandings and discussions to which they expose us ; and all of them, at the first shock of serious injury visited on the parent state, most probably to fall away from us like scattered leaves from the autumnal tree. Nay, worse than all, England has even been made a prolific and ready nursery for foreign nations in formidable and professed rivalry with ourselves ; and, for one nation, in particular, from which in future we have most to fear, we seem proud and delighted to propagate subjects, pouring them forth in hundreds of thousands, to increase its force and augment our own danger.*

But reverting to our proper colonies, and the unsubstantial tenure by which they are preserved, in our possession, let us take a summary survey of the real condition and value of their principal number. And beginning with the British Indias—the most important of them all—behold, in significant token of the unreality

* We not only do this, but by a neglect and folly almost inconceivable, we supply the navy of the United States with British sailors, by which, in case of a war, we should indubitably suffer, without even the credit of being victims to our own mistake.

of our dominion over them, through the vicarious agency of a Mercantile Association, the whole extent of their showy and imposing territories presents not one single spot truly capable of becoming a natural and reconcileable home to a pure and undeteriorated race of British blood. Nowhere are they suited to the habits and labour of the European agriculturist, who must ever continue unadapted to their climate, unbroken to their seasons, and uninured to their soil and tillage. Their commercial products, whether natural or fabricated, considered in proportion to the space and population of these vast territories, can scarcely be deemed fair compensation for the precious blood and healthy energies so lavishly expended to maintain our disturbed and precarious conquest, to which these words of the poet might well apply :—

“ Never ending, still beginning,
Fighting still, and still destroying.”

For, although we have gloriously mowed down millions of the troublesome and refractory natives, who persevere in disputing the *conscionable* right of a small body of foreign traders to appropriate their hundred thrones, their various armies, revenues, cities, and sea-ports, still we cling to our brilliant and costly triumph, although it is probable we shall never be able to improve the mercantile resources of these countries. First, because it is a proved impossibility to rouse the slavish and inert nature of their native race to reciprocate our ingenuity and industry ; next, because of the dietary, restrictions, and sumptuary laws imposed upon them, under their system of castes ; and because of the universal poverty of the mass, the simplicity of their tastes

and habits, while plentifully supplied at the same time, by the soil they inhabit, with all the food and raiment to which they are constrained to confine their appetites and use—a combination of causes which must for ever oppose insurmountable bars to the importation of British produce and manufactures. In fine, we have practised upon the Indians to the very extent of their utmost resource; and, except the laurels we have yet to glean by the massacre of rebels, or resistance to rival invasion, we must calculate upon no increase of gain; unless as a set-off to the necessity of maintaining such prodigious armaments for the *peace* of India, and *good* of trade, we must indulge in consoling anticipations of some more satisfactory increase of indemnity through the augmentation of profit expressible from Indian resource, by the completion of the projected railroad from Calcutta to Delhi, and the grand canal betwixt the Ganges and Jumna—magnificent undertakings, that reflect more honour on the European masters of India than the defeat of ten thousand rajahs. It is by means like *these* we wish to see England triumph over nations, and provoke the blessing of competition.

Still the obstacles we have enumerated must ever continue insurmountable, with no prospect of improvement through the permanent establishment of British settlers in India; since the masters of that country are a mere alien and military force, figuring on the soil but as a fluctuating body, destined to return each, and all, in succession to the mother country, their numbers gradually to be replaced in proportion as they retire to their native home, by fresh adventurers pursuing the same system of temporary residence, and to be followed in given time by a retreat in turn to the land of their birth.

Meantime, the company of traders who monopolize India, restricting themselves to mere objects of immediate commercial profit, exert no effectual measures to consolidate our national power in that country, by pursuing a grand civilizing system with the natives, thereby assimilating them to our usages and habits. Poor, benighted, degraded, and idolatrous, the Company found them ; and such they will leave them, whenever the phenomenon of that singular government and power shall expire—bursting, perhaps, like an air-bubble, by the sudden loss of a battle or two—leaving the memory of our Indian Empire as one of the most extraordinary marvels in all the records of past history. Be it remarked, however, that as long as the Company timidly acted with small numbers and feeble means, its progress was slow, and the field everywhere disputed. But no sooner were the sides of their ambition pricked by partial success, to engage greater sacrifices, and undertake their operations *en grande*, than nearly the whole of India, with a rapidity equal to the strength of the organized method employed, fell beneath British sway.

The experiment, however, of great means to achieve great ends was not repeated by these conquering merchants, beyond the sphere of their exploits in India ; but with singular indifference to the interests of all Europe, and England in particular, and blind even to advantages for themselves, paramount to all they have acquired in Hindostan, these merchants have again and again let slip the opportunity which two centuries of influence in China gave them there, solidly to establish British power, and with it to insinuate European civilization into that empire ; and, by cultivating closer intercourse with its Government and internal inhabitants, to render the wants

and fancies of the 300,000,000 inhabitants, of which this vast nation is said to be composed, subservient to the purpose of our trade and manufactures, which should thus have been imported largely into the very heart and extremities of the Chinese territories : while, by the communication of European light, they might long ago have dissipated the darkness of Chinese ignorance, and vanquished those barbarous and injurious prejudices which can only be effected with great energies and ample means : for example, by the residence of a British ambassadorial representative at Peking, supported by powerful consular authority appointed under its auspices and authority in every principal city and sea-port ; together with the conceded liberty of free ingress and egress throughout the whole extent of this populous but secluded empire. At present, all we have secured, after the most abject degradation, long submitted to under Chinese insolence and caprice, by the timid, temporizing, mean and selfish conduct of the monopolizing Company—and after the consequent necessity we were forced under at last to vindicate the honour of Great Britain, compromised by the mercenary complaisance of our traders in tea, anxious only to profit at any price by the restricted commerce to which they are so jealously and contemptuously admitted—yes, after the necessity, we say, of vindicating our honour by a naval and military invasion, all we have gained is the ambiguous freedom of entry into three additional Chinese ports ! together with the continuance of our uneasy and precarious possession upon sufferance of a factory at Canton, that city, so obnoxious to the health of Europeans by the unwholesomeness of its surrounding rice-swamps, and the tropical ardour of its climate ! We have also to add to these questionable

indemnities, for so much expense and bloodshed sacrificed in the said coercive expedition, that precious accession to the number of our British colonies, *Hong-Kong*—an insignificant speck in the Chinese Sea—refuse of the Celestial empire—so insalubrious by the bad quality of its water, its humidity, and heat, and the insupportable nuisance of its vermin, and so notorious for the evil repute of the Chinese adventurers who resort to this contemptible and unhealthy settlement.

The approval of our recent semi-accidental accession of an establishment in Borneo, under the mysterious and sanguinary auspices of Rajah Brooke, is indeed a contrast to our cession of the enviable Island of Java, so ignorantly and improvidently relinquished at the treaty of the last general peace.* Although Borneo unquestionably is capable of affording incalculable advantages to this country under certain circumstances, which may occur in future, it certainly presents at this time no other benefit than the convenience of a station for our cruisers in the Indian and Chinese seas. The hot temperature of its climate, however mitigated by the fresh breezes of the surrounding ocean; the swampy lands which so perniciously abound upon its coast; together with the alleged predatory fierceness and fickle faith of the natives, must still render it as much adverse to European settlement, as ever it has been heretofore: unless, indeed, under circumstances to be suggested in a succeeding chapter. Meantime, except the discovery of coal recently made, it is said, among its natural products, it exhibits

* Ceded, in utter ignorance, at the treaty of Vienna. Holland considers Java worth all her colonies together. Both as a commercial and military station it is invaluable; but we prefer Sierra Leone or Hong-Kong.

no new feature of attraction, even as a naval station or rendezvous, since it was last abandoned by European colonists. This, at least, is certain, it never can become a congenial home for British settlers.

The continent of New Holland, to which forced attention has so long been attracted, though more favourable than Borneo by its recession from the Line, and the magnitude of its extent as a receptacle for our superfluous population, still opposes innumerable objections fatal to the foundation of a second England there. The first is its remote distance, which consumes four months of sailing navigation to attain, and which renders the voyage next to impracticable by steam for all trading purposes, owing to the great amount of stowage required for fuel. Indeed, when the time necessary for the lading and unlading of cargo, and other port business, is computed, the transit to that colony will be found to include an average period of half a year. Another objection is, that nearly one-half the extent of this vast colony is totally unadapted to European temperament and habits by its situation: while the sterile and impracticable nature of much of its interior, the absence of navigable rivers, and that worst of all impediments, not only bad water, but its liability to long droughts,—all these are prominent objections; besides which no productions peculiar to this continent promise to maintain it as a prominent and independent point of maritime attraction. The necessarily open and unguarded state of its immense coast must long continue to render it a mere nominal possession of this country: while the divergency of its site from the present line of Indian and Chinese commerce, and its distance from the American coast, places New Holland in a world apart, all but solely profit-

able to itself, and that only by what English industry and capital can make it, through sacrifices and exertions that might most assuredly be employed with greater and more immediate benefit nearer home. Meantime the cost of so long a voyage, and the expense which it demands for equipment, together with the immense distance of New Holland from English supplies and home intercourse, offer obstructions nearly amounting to absolute repulsion of general emigration to that remote region; where land in the proximity of towns, the position in which it possesses the greatest advantages, is almost as dear as estates of equal magnitude in some districts of England: while allotments in the interior rigorously condemn the luckless settler to lonely hardship and seclusion; with the sole cheer in all of the prospect of some adequate return in the second or third generation. Neither has the mother-country to congratulate herself in the anticipation of any great good from the establishment of a powerful State in that quarter; for, from the character of the settlers, and many ominous signs already manifested, there is every reason to infer that the example of the United States will not be lost upon the colonists of Australasia. Naturally turbulent in spirit, nourished in ultra notions of freedom, imbued with hereditary resentment against the country which banished them thither; weakened in their original ties by distance, which must ever render their dependence upon us irksome, inconvenient and precarious, with a character peculiarly acute, and predilections essentially commercial, they, as a trading people, must necessarily become, in their peculiar position, more and more enterprising and ambitious. Every day they advance in numbers and prosperity, till, fast multiplied into millions, we may calculate upon

beholding them soon assert their independence, and not only competing with us in successful rivalry in the commerce of Asia, but affording harbour to our European adversaries, and supported in every insolence and aggression by the encouragement and connivance of their cousins of the United States.

The same objections exist with respect to New Zealand and Van Diemen's Land, and the time will indubitably arrive, when common interest and position will closely unite these islands in combined and exclusive government, with a force and resources, offensive and defensive. Even at present, we behold the British emigrants, when once settled in these islands, lost to us for ever ; for the labours of the soil promise long to be dedicated to the home consumption of their fellow-settlers alone ; while, as they gradually introduce manufactories, we shall shortly see every branch of our British handywork successfully emulated in the cities of Australasia, and from thence finding its way to the Chinese and Indian markets, in traffic for Asiatic produce, transported in Australasian shipping to every port of Europe, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. The actual state of New Zealand is not, however, very enticing to the reflecting emigrant ; since the inhabitants are now raising, at great sacrifice, a small loan for public emergencies ; but in spite of all their pretended prosperity, find it difficult, if not *impossible*, to accomplish it. It may be observed that Van Diemen's Land is fast involving itself in debt ; while so thin is the flow of population to these latter colonies, in spite of all the flourish of contrary accounts, that the one, after affected resistance, is disposed to accept convict labour, and the other has already admitted it.

Our next vaunted outlet for the excess of British

population is the Cape of Good Hope. But here, again, distance, nature, climate, and seasons, interpose irremediable objections. First, the southern extreme of Africa affords nothing, which the same quarter of the globe does not produce in richer quality and quantity at a shorter length of sail on the very same coast. The periodical commotions and irruptions of some one or other of the black nations that surround this settlement must ever expose it to interminable insecurity and alarm ; while the unequal quality of the land interdicts all hope of our ever being able to condense the population of this colony into a compact state best fitted for co-operation and defence—a difficulty which is sure earnest of total failure in every attempt we might make to increase this colony to any material importance. The frequent return, in disappointment and disgust, of emigrants from the Cape, after the utter exhaustion of every energy and means, presents on this subject the most emphatic comment.* After all our official efforts, and the alluring persuasions of private speculation lavishly employed for years to attract settlers to this colony, its population, extending, as aforesaid, over a very wide space of land of most unequal diversity in quality, amounts only to 160,000. Already, in 1844, the expenses of our military establishment in that country cost us more than fifty per cent. of our exports thither ; which in the same year, though uncommonly increased, amounted to a very small sum ; and yet, in despite of this inefficiency and shortcoming, we now behold the medley of nations that compose the population of this settlement exciting themselves to a state

* This petty dependency cost, in 1843, £294,000, while our exports in the same year were £502,577. The governor alone has a yearly salary equal to that of the President of the United States.

bordering on open violence and insurrection, because we contemplated the disposal of some of our less criminal convicts, by applying their labour to the improvement of these African possessions, and thus sought some indemnity for the sacrifices made for the support of this dependency, by relieving ourselves of the embarrassing difficulty occasioned by the over-thronged accumulation of prisoners gathered to our gaols. This rebellious disposition, exhibited before on many less *justifiable* occasions—the deficiency of revenue, small amount of traffickable produce, and the ruinous expense to which we are continually exposed by our liability to invasion, whenever the black population of the interior feels disposed by necessity, or inclination, to make incursions—condemn this possession as altogether profitless and undesirable, except as a mere naval station.

The West Indies, which formerly presented an attractive field and speedy grave to British adventurers, have long ceased to tempt enterprize in their present state of depression and bankruptcy; and if again they should ever recover, their own emancipated negroes are best fitted, and are more than necessary, for all the purposes of cultivation; while their own ruined proprietors are more than adequate for all the objects of West India commerce.

Now, after referring to these major possessions, let us ask, where among our colonial appurtenances, from Labrador to Polynesia—from Heligoland to the Ionians—from Gibraltar to Aden—from Vancouver's Land to Ceylon, and all their intermediate sprinklings of dependencies, continental and insular—are we possessed of one single portion of the globe fitted by climate, soil, and seasons, by convenient proximity, commercial capabilities, and geographical facilities, to become, in the

irreparable loss of the American States, a country equally adapted for the purposes of our popular extension, and to afford a compensation to the British emigrant for the relinquishment of his native country? Where find a soil truly worthy to become a second England and a reconcilable home? Yes—there is one too long unappreciated and neglected; one pointed out as a colony of relief by nature; a possession which is now nearer to us by time, than once was our own British coast from the Baltic, when our Saxon ancestors immigrated hither—nearer by time than were many of our flourishing cities in Scotland and Ireland to our own capital, before the invention of steam navigation, only adopted in English practice but yesterday. This country of promise is *Canada*; but not Canada under the *present* system; with its interior still desert and unfrequented; its population troubled and discontented all huddled to the East in mixed community; its finest portions abandoned to the savage, and its western coast a *cul de sac* or non-thoroughfare, without a peopled port, or local ship. No—but a Canada capable of becoming a closely united member, or rather a *portion* and *parcel* of our State; as intimately mixed up, and connected with us, as Scotland and Ireland, pursuing the same objects and interests under branch institutions, and one identical Government and polity: her expansive bosom peopled from her eastern to her western extremity; and the intermediate space constituted the grand high-road round the world's circumference, the future channel of the whole world's general intercourse and commerce; and all this, marvellous as it may appear, by easy, cheap, and self-evident means. This it will now become our task presently to demonstrate in a manner, it is hoped, to leave no doubt on the mind of the most incredulous sceptic.

CHAPTER III.

ACCLIMATIZATION.

A PRIMARY and most essential object to be observed by a migrating people, in the selection of a permanent and profitable settlement, is that the climate, seasons, and products should assimilate in temperature, order, and nature, to that of the country in which their constitution, experience, and habits have been originally formed ; so that they may instantly be enabled to calculate the effects of their labour, to provide against the changes of the year, and convert every resource, by inured habit and previous knowledge, to prompt and satisfactory account ; instead of suffering themselves to be enticed to sacrifice energies and health upon the strange soil of countries in far latitudes, contrary to their nature and adverse to their genius, where every object of produce proper to the land is foreign to their cognition, opposed to all their received system of management and culture, and where every means necessary for profit and improvement can only be acquired by a renunciation of all past practice, and the uncompromising repudiation of all the lessons of rural economy derived from the example of their ancestors. This contempt of rule is a violation of nature, which, with admirable providence, order, gradation, has everywhere arranged and distributed the separate and distinct families of man and beast, bird, fish, insect, and vegetable, according to

some particular condition peculiar to each diverse portion of the globe—a law which renders the transposition of animal and vegetable life, from the sphere of their proper appointment, to spots unallotted to their natural existence and growth, generally attended with almost certain degeneration, if not speedy extinction. There is scarcely an imaginable greater variety of distinct being we could possibly conceive existent than is observable in the different specimens of even the same creature, as they are variously marked in the divided latitudes of their natural location.

Contemplate the different exemplars of the human race in their physical proportions, stature, complexion, and colour, the formation of their heads and members, their diversity of hair, and distinct nationality of feature. Compare, at the same time, with these corporeal contrasts, the still more striking differences and contradistinctions which exist in the moral qualities and capacity of the various races of the human family as they have been disseminated in climates apart ; and you must instantly recognize that each species is not only peculiarly adapted physically and morally to its own prescribed portion of the earth's habitable space, but that each must necessarily be exposed to fall into extinction, if suddenly transferred from its own sphere to the scene appointed for the separate existence of the other—that is, supposing that their separate climate and soil to be very materially different. Transport, for instance, the Arab to the snowy mountains of the North Cape—the Esquimaux to the banks of Senegal—the Hindoo to the Canadian prairies—the Laplander to Chili, and so on with the other opposite inhabitants of the earth—and you would not only see these bewildered and perplexed interchangers of local destinies

unable to adapt their faculties, constitution, and temperament, to the different mode and unaccustomed objects of their novel existence, but sinking in helpless debility ; if not immediately swept from life at the first shock of the transition. Or, without speculating on such infinite extremes, as the translation of races so different, to climates so signally contrary to the nature of each, let us only suppose the culture of the Dutch marshes suddenly committed to the husbandry of our Scotch Highlanders, or the Hollanders transported to labour upon the Alps. Imagine the peasants of the Roman Campagna translated to the forests of Sweden—the Norwegian boor to the vineyards of Andalusia—the Spaniards consigned to the Shetlands or the Baltic islands—and what other consequences should we have to anticipate from this reversal of the present order, but the stultification of all preconceived ideas in the transpatriated, the paralysis of all their energies, the stagnation of their genius, and their rapid degeneration and extinction. Rarely do we find the native of Southern Europe improve by residence on our shores ; and the Englishman, naturalized in Spain or Italy, proverbially loses his happiest characteristics. Even so our horses and dogs are liable equally to alter by removal to very opposite climates, thereby frequently degenerating so much as to change character altogether ; while we habitually behold the animals of Asia, Africa, and South America, even though preserved in our northern climates, for a time, in appetite and health, refuse to couple, and generally pine to premature death. The ordinary produce of tropical vegetation, consumed in the daily aliment of the whole nation, refuses to germinate in British soil—such as tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, &c. Nay, even the wine-grape and olive of our

immediate continent are irreconcilable to the soil of Britain.

And yet, in unreflecting opposition to all these significant signs, do we behold people of this country persevere in vain attempts to naturalize themselves in distant lands of their adoption, altogether unfitted for their British blood and spirit. But, to find the congeniality of climate required, and the objects of natural production adapted to our habits and frame, where should we look but round our own belt of latitude, where the soil is necessarily subjected in its whole ring of circumference to the same degree of solar influence; and, therefore, disposed to yield the same products in system, character, and kind, under the same system and practice of culture and tillage? It is indeed evident that we should be better employed in our own proper section of the circle, within which it is our physical and moral interest to continue, instead of deserting the post assigned to us by nature, to cower beneath her inclemency at the poles, or pant beneath her intensity in the tropics. Thus British blood is seen to thrive most genially in those continental countries which lie eastward on the same geographical parallel with ourselves; and from the Baltic to the north of France, from Denmark to Moscow, and further on round our native circle, an Englishman is habitually found as easily naturalized to the soil, as he is invariably seen to reconcile himself almost immediately to the predominant habits which there obtain; and never does he appear more at home than when settled in Northern Germany, and countries in the same line of easting, where, inclined by temperature and disposed by custom, he instinctively assimilates with the race, and generates offspring no way deterio-

rated in body and spirit from the Anglo-Saxon blood of his inheritance. Who doubts that a British population, urban or agricultural, would prosper better at Hamburg or Berlin than at Madrid or Naples? And that even Stockholm, or St. Petersburg, as a home, were, in reality, more natural to British constitutions and natural tastes than a sultry and enervating sojourn in such cities as Palermo, or Constantinople? Nay, we doubt whether the natural and unsophisticated Englishmen, unseduced by poetry and prejudice, would not rather prefer the vigorous climate of Courland and Lithuania, to the sunshiny glare of floral Tuscany.

If, then, the regions lying within the same range of latitude with ourselves are found, upon experience, to be best adapted to our English nature, how irrational is the infatuation which carries so many of our roving population to make choice of climates so widely divergent from the temperate zone! And, who among us, being once accustomed to life in Denmark, Prussia, or Poland, while forced at the same time to abandon England, would not prefer a lasting home in those countries where the soil and its culture, the seasons and their temperature, the commerce and customs, bear such affinity to those of our own native home, rather than languish in alien disconnection with some more luxurious country of our choice in the south; where both mind and body, in defiance of every effort of our will, must ever refuse to matriculate? But if it holds good that our British nature thrives best, in all its undeteriorated vigour, when attracted to the countries that lie level with us on the east, why should not the same favourable effect attend us on the west? It is because the prospect is enlivened with the spectacle of powerful and prosperous nations, rich in civilized cities,

in the one direction; and that the discouragement of neglected settlements and howling wastes repel us from the other. But still the most eligible country of all this earth, for the purposes of British establishment, is CANADA; and, amidst all our colonial embarrassment of wealth, it has been, we repeat, our common and most improvident practice to undervalue or ignore the paramount advantages offered to us by the possession of this true land of promise, fertile in prairies, and abounding in wood and water, everywhere exhibiting capabilities and resources far beyond the attractions of Nature in these islands, when our Saxon ancestors were tempted to colonize them.

Who has ever surveyed the cultivated lands of Canada, and visited her infant cities, without predicting that her future fate will be among the most prosperous and important of nations? Who ever visited Quebec and Montreal, and, whilst they admired the singular beauty of their busy streets and charming aspect of their surrounding gardens, did not reflect, in astonishment with the view, on the stupid and imprudent indifference entertained by England towards dependencies flourishing in such fast-increasing magnitude and affluence? Who ever penetrated to the Canadian back-woods, and contemplated a regular and judicious clearing, executed by some colonist of enterprise and judgment, without experiencing a sentiment of admiration as they witnessed the singular agricultural aptitude of the country, responding with such ready crops to the very first touch of human tillage? What glorious lakes, what noble rivers, what luxuriance of natural vegetation, and equable uniformity of temperature, regulating each season, distinguish the prepossessing aspect of Canada! True, the climate is objectionably frigid in winter; but so is all the north of Europe—

so is Great Britain ; and, from October till April, how bleak and unattractive must be her Majesty's late retreat at Balmoral, where few, we think, would not covet possession of a summer residence in the same northerly region, whose princely mansions, magnificent parks, improved husbandry, and model gardens, are gradually manifesting what science and taste can effect even close to the 60th parallel north. Yes : the winters of Canada are uncomfortably, perhaps *intensely*, cold ; but so would be those of some of the most favoured countries of Europe, did they still continue in all their uncultured virginity ; their forests uncleared, their marshes undrained, and the whole unbroken surface unstimulated by manure, and unprotected from sweeping winds by walls, dykes, or hedges : this, too, in the absence of all winter provision, and those artificial means to vanquish the hard rigours of winter, so actively and variously cultivated in European countries, without which their territories would be uninhabitable. Locate a Russian, or Swedish family, during one single winter on some uncultivated English heath, in the absence of all civilized comforts : let him there be imperfectly lodged, indifferently provisioned, estranged by impassable roads and intervening wastes from intercommunication with other settlements, with his present dreariness unrelieved by any prospect of assured amelioration ; and then let us ask whether such experimental resident would not report an English winter *rather* long and *somewhat* intolerable ?

A Canadian summer has also been represented as insufferably hot ; but just so would an English July feel to one exposed to its scorching influence, without the protection of more shelter and shade than is afforded by such rude and incommodious "Shanties," as European emigrants

are wont to occupy during their first probation of forest life in Canada. Our indifference for these remnants of our North American possessions has its origin in impressions very old and erroneous; arising from the contempt we affected to attach to them, when composing a dependency of France—pretending to regard this colony as a mere “*pis aller*” of our antagonists in the absence of better acquisitions, and thus habitually identifying it with Cape Breton, or confounding it with Labrador—a scorn more exultingly cherished in the proud supposition of our superior advantage in possessing the milder countries beyond its southern frontier; precisely as a Devonshire proprietor might depreciate the lands of Mid Lothian, and confound them with the snowy regions of Cairngorm. The splendour, too, of our West Indian Colonies, so long the source of our richest mercantile commodities, and our subsequent acquisitions in the East, blinded us to the less dazzling, but more substantial, advantages derivable from our possession of Canada. Nay, singular to say, the very loss of our Anglo-American States, by the revolutionary war, seemed to heighten our indifference for Canada even to disgust, by the poor figure she seemed to make, when compared with the more populous and more prosperous colonies wrested from us. Too exclusively engaged by our subsequent wars with France, to correct this injurious opinion in time, and diverted, since that period, by the extension of our triumphs in India, and our many badly-conceived and ill-combined projects of colonization elsewhere, Canada has been suffered to continue under disparagement. Neglected and misgoverned until now, when she might prove our surest salvation and promptest safety-valve, we find her resenting our indifference, and almost dis-

posed and ready to deliver herself from our careless hands, to swell the power of a rival we seem untiring in labour to aggrandize at any price—even if it should cost that best jewel of the British Crown, *Canada* ; and with that portentous sacrifice, our last footing on American ground.

Since the independence of the United States, and the formidable attitude she has ever since assumed on our Canadian frontier, should it not have been our most vital policy to strengthen our power in that quarter, against the menaces of an antagonist, who scorns to hide her eager desire to chase the British flag from every point of the western hemisphere?—particularly when we could have effected this by consolidating a colonial force capable of repressing her aggressions, not only along the whole extent of the Canadian boundary, but in strong muster upon our shores of the Pacific. For, being restricted from indemnifying ourselves for the loss of our settlements on the eastern shores of North America, by pushing colonies into the western wilderness behind them, we should at least have extended a line of colonization from the eastern extreme of Upper Canada, along the banks of the lakes, and thence by successive stations of strength as far as the waters of Nootka Sound ; by which we should have eschewed the law laid down for us on the Oregon question, and insured in that quarter something not unlike full discretionary power. This would have been effected more easily ; since, from the same source whence sprang the origin and increase of the United States, namely, the over-peopled acres of Great Britain, we could easily have detached a fresh stream of population to rival in the western desert the settlements wrested from us by our insurgent colonists. Instead of

which, we have directed British emigration to regions that promise no substantial benefit in future; where the co-operative energies of the settlers we have sent out, being without a proper field and support, must degenerate in character and spirit: the greatest part already being lost to us for ever. Was not the rapid growth and prosperity of the United States the strongest testimony that this was the most eligible direction for British enterprise, and the celerity with which the American States rose under the eye of their mother-country, a sure earnest of equal success, the instant we employed the same means to erect colonies in their proximity? Surely we could have accomplished that, which the Americans have effected to improve their condition and increase their population, with much more facility; since it is we, who have supplied them with example and ideas, and it is from us, that their increase of population still materially flows.

But despite such powerful incentives to the prosecution of our interests in Canada, the business of colonization has been principally confined to private enterprise; and, so far from pushing our way into the western interior, we still continue only to accumulate settlers on the eastern shores, as if our whole views and interests were circumscribed to establishments connected with the Atlantic; as if the opposite coast of the North Pacific was not likewise a possession of England, and the question of connecting the two oceans, by facile and direct communication, one of the very grandest objects which could possibly occupy the mind of Great Britain: whilst thousands of square miles between, capable of the highest degree of culture, are still left neglected under the disgraceful designation of "UNKNOWN LANDS." For British emigrants

to Canada still continue to be amassed in or near the original townships founded by the first settlers, and this from dire necessity ; since Government makes no effort to establish protective stations in advance of the settlers, on the track and vicinity of which, in proportion as they progressed a-head, towns, villages, and hamlets would necessarily rise in quick succession, to the encouragement and support of the surrounding clearings. At present, the limited number of towns renders all fresh accession of professional, mercantile, and mechanical residents a grievous visitation upon the colonial community, already over-thronged with adventurers in every department of city pursuit, from which there is no prospect of release, save by their return whence they set out ;* since the followers of professions and the majority of even the most urgent trades have no vocation in the wilderness. Such agriculturists as arrive, in the meantime, possessed of a little money, necessarily endeavour to establish themselves in the vicinity of towns, for the advantage of social intercourse and the benefit of barter ; which design being naturally common to all, lands in the neighbourhood of towns are consequently dear in proportion ; insomuch as to render the price of their acquisition little short of the amount required for the purchase of similar land in England. The emigrant, on the contrary, who is destitute of capital—and such form the grand majority of British settlers in Canada—is driven to the wild outskirts of cultivation, where his first year is absorbed in providing shelter from the severity of a northern winter, by the painful construction of rude and imperfect tenements or sheds huddled together with pre-

* *Vide* "Colonial Magazine" of this month (March).

cipitate haste in the absence of proper tools, and made from rough-hewn material, collected from the green timber of the forest! He has next, with prodigious labour and assiduity, to clear the ground around him from the trees and underwood which choke the land and obstruct all work of husbandry; and when at last he has effected an open space, by felling timber which has occupied the soil for centuries, he has to lop the trunks, and disembarass the space from the impediment of their prostrate confusion; and, if remote from the banks of any river, and destitute of horses and oxen—the (the case of ninety out of a hundred)—the toil, the perplexity, and length of time consumed may easily be conceived! He has next to extirpate a portion of the clumps and roots, whose formidable and capacious fibres, everywhere intersecting the soil, oppose the spade and plough inch by inch; and when at last the tedious and operose task is accomplished, the crop wrested from the maiden earth is useless beyond the labourer's own home consumption, for there are no purchasers in his vicinity; or, when at length practicable roads are cut through the desert he inhabits, the only distant towns he can attain have their markets already glutted with the produce of his competitors. Nay, very frequently, he is far remote from every flour-mill, saw-mill, forge, and dispensary; and consequently must feel condemned to the fate of the shipwrecked mariner, cast destitute on a desolate coast. These are hardships, which thousands are unable to survive, but perish of hunger and misery, if they do not succeed in disposing for a scanty consideration of their half-cleared lands to some more fortunate adventurer; thus to recommence their prodigious and ungrateful toil in some deeper solitude, or entirely to relinquish the

habits and pursuits of civilized life to emulate the red savage of the wild.

Such is Canada, towards its interior, unencouraged by Government, and abandoned to the impoverished means of private enterprize. But once supported by the Crown—assisted with capital, fortified and relieved by co-operation, and their proceedings facilitated by public roads and Government stations—how different were the destinies of the colonists, who now shrink to advance into the interior, where they must only calculate to encounter hardship and desolation; separated every step directed to the west from civilized institutions and social advantages—wanderers, as it were, upon the face of a new planet! For the Pacific, with its few and unattractive ports, attained only by a long and perilous circumnavigation, without a British harbour (with but one exception), from Behring's Straits to Cape Horn, presents but a waste of waters, ploughed only at large by the keel of some adventurous whaler, or wandering cruiser, visiting the wild islands with which it is studded, only to perpetuate reports of their capabilities and continued barbarism. Thus, notwithstanding the favourable accounts rendered of our settlement at Vancouver's Land, which from its geographical position we may well believe, the protracted circuit which the voyage thither exacts, the flattering climates passed before reaching its less sunny shores, the uncultivated and depopulated state which yet leaves it unfurnished with sufficient produce to tempt mercantile enterprize, condemn it and its whole northward line of coast to obscurity and desertion.

But does the Pacific lead nowhere? Is there no path over its waves to shores crowded with Asiatic myriads? Are China and Japan unattainable from this

point? Are the islands on its bosom unworthy of a closer connection? Must this ocean ever continue a blank to us in the field of commercial activity and enterprize? Is the direct road to it by land eternally doomed to present an impenetrable barrier? What! Russia can follow a track to Pekin; the Moor can penetrate to Timbuctoo; the Persian and Arab can traverse their deserts; France throng a highroad thoroughfare to Constantia; the India Company can stretch a railroad from Calcutta to Delhi, and the American Union can show us the example of a land passage to California; and yet, at *this time of day*, and across our own possessions from Upper Canada to its western coast, we permit the Indian hunter and wandering buffalo to maintain lasting occupation of the most promising countries we own, and appropriate the route which leads from sea to sea, where our subjects upon each shore are separated from all direct intercommunication as much as if the frozen ocean, ten thousand miles of Alps, or a fiery gulf, were interposed between them! While this paralysis arrests the progress of our colonization into the Canadian interior, our settlers on the west are fixed in strict captivity to the coast, and repelled as much from penetrating eastward, as our colonists on the east seem bound to the Atlantic shore and afraid to adventure westward; and this while the active American of the States, not content to cover his territories with a network of railways and push population to the farthest boundaries of Louisiana and to the Missouri, even talks of a new federacy to be called the "*Pacific Union*," in contradistinction to that on this side the Stony Mountains, to be henceforth denominated the "*Atlantic Union*."

Say, reader, is not this *significant*?—ay, and some-

what unpleasant, after the jealous objections taken to our right of joint navigation of the Columbia river, and the inveterate opposition uniformly manifested, wherever we pretended to claim the smallest degree of southing on the Pacific coast?

If it is singular that we should have forgotten the hint suggested by the active and profitable commercial intercourse formerly maintained by old Spain, between her islands in the Chinese seas and the Mexican port of Acapulco, it is still more incomprehensible that certain emphatic circumstances and details connected with the marvellous rise of the sudden emporium of San Francisco have not excited the presage of an impending era of maritime enterprize unparalleled in the history of the world. Allured by exaggerated rumours of mineral wealth, cunningly promulgated—just, perchance, as the moribund father in the fable stimulated his idle sons to dig an uncultured garden in search of the buried treasure, he feigned to bequeath; which by the operation of the spade alone was, indeed, rendered productive of a harvest surpassing in amount of value the ideal gold, which the credulous diggers expected—even so, attracted by the temptation insinuated through overcharged report, we suddenly saw the sails of every nation crowding to the unfrequented shores of the north Pacific; and, in the eventful race, the Eastern-American masters of the land itself were not the most conspicuous, for every flag of Europe has been seen displayed on the coast of this pretended Eldorado; while Polynesia, Australia, China, and even the East Indies, have contributed to augment the throng of adventurous speculators who have visited, and still hasten, to this hitherto seques-

tered coast. In confirmation of which the American papers, corroborated by private letters of January 1849, stated that then—"Emigrants were pouring in from every port of the Pacific to California—from Mexico, Peru, the Sandwich Islands, Oregon, from British India, China, and the whole of that region—all furnishing emigrants for California." "In less than a year (they predicted), there will probably be a population of from 100,000 to 200,000 settlers." And the *Times*, of the 16th August, 1849, reported as follows:—"Hong-Kong has been swept of supplies for California. A number of wooden houses have been there constructed for the new American settlement. An active trade with that island and California was confidently anticipated, and the native craft of Hong-Kong were engaged in the transit commerce of California."

Now, in this remarkable movement, simultaneously stirring the whole globe, is there not matter suggestive of stupendous benefit to this country? For with a continental territory of such vast extent as our Canadas, lying so invitingly between us and the new commercial arena opening in the Pacific, together with so many of our intervening dependencies scattered over the southern seas, are we to remain passive spectators of this grand drama of maritime intercourse, which is assembling all nations upon the Pacific waters, without availing ourselves of our paramount faculty and means of converting the impulse to our principal advantage? Let the reader, with this general movement in view, just contemplate the map, and see if we are not stupidly obtuse in not securing the incalculable benefits which the opportunity now offers to Great Britain; and judge, if it were not

suicidal criminality, should we hesitate any longer to profit by this Californian mania, to assume the immediate lead and direction of the South Sea movement; thereby to attract those congregating interests to a British centre? For with so vast and undivided a tract of the north-west coast of America under our sway, stretching from the pole to the very confines of the spot thus suddenly endowed with such magnetic influence, what excuse have we for refusing this indirect appeal to our obvious power? True, our portion of the north-western territories is, for all we know, destitute of the inviting attraction of *actual* gold; but our genius, our industry, and universal influence, can soon enrich them with an equivalent.

Nature presents us with the means, in the happy position of Vancouver's Land: the Canadian lakes open a half-way access to this promising point, through the heart of our own possessions; and from the western point of Lake Superior, modern invention presents prompt and familiar means; were we only to bridge the intermediate space between these halfway waters and our north-west harbour. At the bare thought of so rapid and direct a channel betwixt Europe and Asia, what pictures of certain prosperity and grandeur, enterprize and activity, crowd upon the mind,* with the prospect of a wil-

* We cannot help here being reminded of some lines of Tennyson, a poet we do not generally much admire, which we will quote without fear of injuring the matter-of-fact of our prose; as being apposite to our subject.

"For, I dipp'd into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world and all the wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens filled with commerce, argosies of magic sails;
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
Till the war-drum throb'd no longer and the battle flags were
fur'd

In the Parliament of man, the federation of the world."

derness peopled—a remote ocean converted to an immediate and familiar high-road—and regions teeming with countless myriads, hitherto only reached by tedious circumnavigation of the globe, brought to intimate connection, as it were, at our very door—pictures we cannot contemplate without exclaiming—England arouse! Ministers awake!

CHAPTER IV.

UNITED STATES.

THE imposing spectacle of the United States, in all the busy stir of her amazing progress and growing grandeur, reflects at once the greatest glory and shame upon this country ; glory, because it is the work of our own hands, and shame, because we so blindly forfeited an appanage of such transcendent value and importance. Had we demeaned ourselves with the tenderness and affection towards this child of our creation, which an infancy of such vigour and promise demanded, we should now be the most powerful and magnificent nation upon earth ; whilst we should have been protected by an overwhelming force against the imminent dangers and ruinous expenditure, incurred so soon after the forfeiture of this superb colony, from the envious and vindictive hostility of imperial France. But Providence, in salutary wisdom, decreed that England should err and America revolt, in order, perhaps, to check the triumph of our pride and preserve the independence of the world.

From the moment of her separation, the States Union has steadily augmented in a strength and importance, without example in the history of nations ; till we behold the children of those broken soldiers and dispirited sectarians, those bankrupt citizens and ejected peasants, exatriated from our shores, rivalling us in power, defying us on

land, and bearding us at sea, with an *animus* singularly inveterate, and frequently provocative of warm resentment, in ominous earnest of desperate collision at no very distant date. That antagonism, which is qualified in us by competition with so many nations, America concentrates entirely against England: she hates us with a hate which *quondam* friends and angry kinsmen can only feel. The spirit of animosity to all that is English is even fostered in the very cradle, throughout the whole of these implacable States; and the bare name of our country is seldom pronounced, from New England to Florida, without some accompanying expression of invective and contempt. Imbued with the Saxon enterprize, and bred to the same pursuits, maritime and commercial, with ourselves, their jealousy is constantly opposed to our proximity, or contending with us in bitter competition in some arena abroad, where they have too often, for the generation of better blood, to brook the mortification of our ascendancy, and yield to our success.

Were this feeling liable to subside, its bitterness would still be constantly resuscitated by the shoals of exasperated malcontents, rejected insolvents, and criminal runagates, we are constantly vomiting upon their shores. With this spirit of enmity, growing with their growth and strengthening with their strength, what have we not to apprehend from their matured energies, if they still increase in the same numerical proportion which marks their progress in later years? We shall behold them, ere long, possessed of competent power to indulge the harshest dictates of their jealous hate. With them, there is no high-minded and chivalrous Court to treat with our Crown, and defer to the intermediary counsels and opinions of allied princes; no generous and enlightened aristocracy to temper and

restrain the brute impulse of popular passion. With them, Government is the people, and the people are the enemies of our name, opposed, as republicans, to our institutions ; and, as successful rebels, inveterate in their hostility to our power.* To judge of their speedy future, by the recent past, let us only review the progress of these States since their independence in 1783.

First, they aggrandized their power by the acquisition of the extensive territory of Louisiana ; while continuing to advance with such accelerated prosperity and strength, that, with an eye to Canada, they fearlessly volunteered a second war in defiance of our numerous fleets, then in the full flush of universal triumph. Next, they menaced Quebec itself with invasion, and disputed with the most persevering intrepidity the mastery of the Lakes. Then, having thus tested their strength at home, they proved their faculty of vindicating their power against any who would dare to transgress against them, by parading their prowess in the Mediterranean. Soon after they threatened to coerce Spain, and hectoring her into the cession of the Floridas. By a system of insidious manœuvres and bold adventure, they next absorbed the Texas ; till, fortified by the consciousness of might, they did not hesitate once more to defy our resentment by openly tampering with Canadian sedition ; and, arrogantly repelling our claims to the common right of navigating the Columbia, and contesting every inch of our present boundary line, they seemed disposed to expel us to the

* This is, abstractedly, too severe ; whilst true, with reference to the opposing interests of the two nations. They do hate us from a sense of present and past inferiority ; but it remains to be seen, and therefore the question at present is not ripe for judgment, to what degree of perfection a government, *ab initio* republican, may arrive.—ED.

hyperborean wastes of the extreme north ; and this with their customary menaces against the independence of Canada—a querulous audacity, which, it is apprehended, has imposed upon us a lasting cause of regret for the too easy acquiescence to their nominal possession of the untenanted regions of the trackless Missouri, extorted from our love of peace, or rather inability to go to war.

They next prepared for the subjugation of Mexico, betraying, by a hundred tongues in Congress, and the insolent columns of a thousand newspapers, their desire that no other flag, save the starred and striped ensign of the States Union, should fly throughout the North American continent, from Columbia to the Pole. Meantime, vying with us in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, maritime adventures, and general science—nay, approaching us in the adaptation of many of the grandest inventions of the age*—they strove to forestal us in the

* The preference shown by Russia to American engineering and science, over English, is highly significant.* There is a singular approximation of feeling in these two governments so widely dissimilar from each other. America is not *jealous* of Russia. There is no broken domestic tie there. Europe lies between, and a coalition of these two powers may, at some no very distant date, grind both bankrupt England, and revolutionary France. Their interests will only clash in the far future ; when the civilized world may become either Muscovite or American. The Emperor Napoleon spoke of the former, as likely enough ;

* The railroad between St. Petersburg and Moscow is chiefly constructed by American engineers. The Emperor Nicholas expressed himself lately much discontented with British engineering with reference particularly to the bridge built over the Wolga. With regard to the future proceedings of Russia, who doubts that she intends, ere long, to make a dash at Constantinople ? It is a continual subject of conversation amid Russian officers and artillerymen ; and in the exercises at their military colleges, a prize is often awarded for the best sketch of “ *La prise de Constantinople.*”

best markets, and compete with our mercantile navy on the farthest seas; alimented all this time by a continual influx of emigrants from every country in Europe, and particularly favoured in this respect by the revolutions and discontents which have driven millions to the United States. Thus they have not only witnessed the territories of their eastern coast glutted with fresh accessions of European settlers, but even their interior filling with a vast spreading population. Cities upon cities are seen rising in the very heart of those vast lands and farthest limits, all wonderfully facilitated and maintained, in beneficial connection, by the longest and most numerous railroads in the world, by the multiplication and general appliance of scientific discoveries and improvements, the universal practice of transport by steam, and every other imaginable means of facile intercommunication, till, enabled at last to divert the tide of immigration, so long and constantly confined to their eastern sea-board, or to the settlements founded on the western skirts of these, they have arrived at a period when they are able to dispense with all fresh accessions of population on the Atlantic, in order to direct their views to the settlements newly acquired on the Pacific. These settlements have long been coveted in obvious necessity by the Government of the United States, as an indispensable object to be attained for the completion and consolidation of American power, by

but America was then not sufficiently developed to strike his prophetic vision, as she would do now. Railroads are the veins of her new strength, as they are likely to be the arteries, by which we bleed, like a foolish suicide at the blind command of necessity. They are the wires, by which we would secure rottenness; for which a more lingering decay were provided under the old system of non-contact. All this is only meant, should the grand scheme, we propose, attended by other wise and patriotic measures, not be adopted.

erecting, on the opposite margin of this partially inhabited continent, a new train of States and sea-board cities, as commodiously situated for direct and expeditious trade with Asia, the South Sea Islands, and North-west fisheries, as the long line of original States stand conveniently disposed for the traffic of Europe.

Skilled by the oldest and boldest practice of railroad transit and steam navigation, it was not difficult to calculate that their greatest wonders were yet to be performed by the annihilation of distance, bringing Asia and Europe to meet in direct line. The acute people of America were not slow to perceive that such a land-junction of the two vast oceans would necessarily constitute their intermediate territories the grand viaduct between the two elder continents, earnest for a traffic that would attract the major bulk of the world's wealth to stream in a constant flood of reciprocated activity over such an auspicious tract. To effect then this stupendous object, it became imperative that the long-meditated invasion of Mexico should be *de facto* accomplished, preliminary to their acquisition of the coast settlements they anxiously coveted. Dissimulating their real intent, even when their plan was matured, they marched to the conquest of a city, the possession of which they regarded secretly as a mere means to an end, pregnant with consequences far more vital and important than the simple seizure of the Mexican capital, which, though soon subjected to their discretion, they reserved, like the apple in the monkey's jaw, "first mouthed, to be last swallowed;" and, with a moderation beginning now to be well understood, they magnanimously compounded with the vanquished for that central portion of the North Pacific coast so convenient for the commerce of that sea,

and so indispensably necessary as an outlet for the produce of the fast spreading communities of Louisiana and Missouri, and better situated than Acapulca for the renewal of the Asiatic commerce which once rendered the latter city so renowned in commercial history. For the Californian ports, besides being parallel with the peopled territories of the United States, are less exposed to aggression than those placed upon the narrow neck compressed by the Mexican Gulf and Pacific, and exposed at any time to interruption from the hostility of Columbia.

No sooner, then, was the accession of the Californian prize accomplished, than some feigned inducement of powerful effect became indispensable to enlist recruits for this new colony, and divert the current of inflowing settlers from their usual destination to the eastern shore; but, as the newly-acquired country was all but unknown and next to deserted, the ancient fables of its auriferous fecundity admirably sufficed for the purpose;* and the most exaggerated statements were consequently disseminated throughout the world, at the instigation of the United States' Government, by which the cupidity of the credulous of every country was stimulated to adventure in the golden delusion. So potent and effective has been the exciting dose administered by the crafty mystifiers, that, in spite of the ambiguous and conflicting

* It is impossible, as yet, to speak with certainty upon the existence or non-existence of gold in such quantities. The last accounts are, perhaps, more deserving of credit. There are many reasons why the currency of the world should not hitherto be effected. The gold, in whatever quantities it is found, is still only circulated amongst its original finders, and the speculative plunderers who have hurried to the spot. No doubt there are exaggerations, both accidental and deliberate.

accounts on the subject of fortunes to be amassed in that country, so perplexing by the counter-statements of ruin and disaster attendant upon Californian speculation, and all as creditably authenticated as the miraculous gold-finding, that the world still continues to flood California with its adventurers—attended by this certain result at best, that the disappointed must still make the best of their voyage at a distance so remote from their homes, and any other neighbouring settlement succumb to necessity, and so resign to swell the number of American population intended to increase and flourish on the Pacific, to the discomfiture and total future eclipse of the English co-partners of the shore.

Elated by the entire success which has so far attended the colossal scheme associated with the formation of this colony, and the proven incapacity of Mexico to resist, whenever it will become expedient for the Union to swallow her, the Americans have only to get rid of our flag in Canada to realize their dearest ambition of combining in their single and undivided possession the whole of the North American continent, from the Gulf of Darien to the Frozen Seas. In this favourite design, what tortuous machinations and insidious intrigues have they not employed ever since the declaration of their independence, principally to undermine our power in Canada, and seduce its inhabitants into insubordination and revolt; till now, scorning the decent disguise of any farther mask, we find them audaciously engaged in obvious league and traffic with all the discontented and revolutionary portion of our Canadian colonists; exciting them through the agency of active missionaries to emulate their rebellion, renounce allegiance to England, and deliver themselves over, by a grand insurrectionary act

of wholesale transfer, to the United States—this moral invasion, and conquest of our subjects and territories, to be called "*Annexation*"—a threatened measure of such exorbitant damage to this country, that the acquisition of no other colony could compensate for it,—which, if carried into fatal execution, would not only sink us, on the very instant, in the estimation of Europe, but would be the signal of universal revolt with every other British dependency: while America, freed from all further obstacle and competition in the wide extent of her continental dominion, would, in her immediate power to wield a whole world, earnestly direct her exclusive attention and increasing means to construct armaments and fleets to dispute with us our supremacy of the sea, and the farther exercise of our mercantile ascendancy in Asia. Ay, this, with the approval of all Europe, she would attempt single-handed, even were she not gladly aided and supported by the combined power of so many nations, which our unparalleled prosperity and triumphs have so long eclipsed and humiliated. Nay, so impatient are the United States to complete this grand work of their secret conception, that they scarcely permit themselves to bide their time, and wait in expectant inaction the calculated course of Canadian treason.

But while the plot of perfidy and rebellion progresses in Upper Canada, we have just beheld the unscrupulous and audacious subjects of the United States piratically arming for a partisan invasion of Cuba, in contempt of the reigning peace and the laws of nations, deterred only from so lawless a deed by the actual presence of a British fleet in the West Indies. Chafing meantime, under the irritating restraint thus opposed to the eager work of their

ambition, the United States continue to betray the cherished secret of their ulterior object by a thousand significant indices, and impatiently let slip to the world by incessant publications emanating from the rulers of the Union themselves. In August last, the American papers announced as follows :—

“The United States’ Commissioner of the General Land Office has made his report with regard to that part of the United States territory not yet formed into States. He shows that in surface it will make forty-six such States as Pennsylvania; each containing 28,000,000 of acres. Should such division ever take place, thirty-five of these would be Free States, according to the proposed Missouri compromise line, which marks the parallel of $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude as the limits, north of which no slavery shall exist. Or, should Oregon, California, and New Mexico, separate themselves, leaving the Rocky Mountains as the division between the Pacific and Atlantic States, the Atlantic Union would contain fifty-seven and the Pacific Union nineteen separate States: each of the latter being of the same size as Pennsylvania, and four times as large as the kingdom of Holland.”

Do not such schemes portend most formidable consequences to England in the future? Do not such speculations, under the circumstances of American implication in the causes of Canadian perturbations, speak volumes? And would not the separation of the States into two great divisions—still offensively and defensively combined, as is thus suggested—render the necessity of the northern division acquiring indemnity on the side of Canada, almost imperative, if it would maintain its strength, dignity, and importance? And is it not self-evident, in the face of all this parade of ambitious

aspiration, that, unless some timely check be interposed between the intent and the fruition, posterity will have to curse the memory of those British statesmen who lived when the American horizon first assumed the portentous sign of the gathering storm, and yet devised no early remedy to protect our children from the peril?

The external views and glowing hopes, entertained on the strength of their Californian acquisition, will be better illustrated by extracts from their own most accredited prints; and will fully bear out the object we impute to their policy, which is to supersede us in the advantage of position, and steal a march upon us in the commerce of the Southern and Chinese seas, in a direct line of connection with the continent of Europe, by the halfway medium of American land. A New York paper of July, 1849, in alluding to Californian affairs, says:—

“New York, and her sister cities, will be the centre of all the consequent prosperity attendant on the new settlement. Ship-building will increase in value; steamboats will be wanted in incalculable quantity; and the railroads projected across the isthmus in various places in Mexico and Central America will be pushed to completion. We should not be surprised to see an active attempt made, under the auspices of the Federal Government, to construct a road through the south pass, from St. Louis, and other parts of the Mississippi, to San Francisco.”

Another, of a later date, observes that—“The United States’ scheme of railway from Vera Cruz to Acapulca has been introduced into Congress. It is proposed to prefer the Tuantepée route to that of Panama: they are working a public road across the Tuantepée; removing the obstructions of the river Coatzacoctes, and the har-

hour of the north of San Dionisio. It is calculated that in the middle of April, 1850, the whole will be completed for passengers and merchandize." A Boston paper remarks:—"The finding of these golden mines of California is more important than any previous event of the last three hundred years. Within five years, there will be a railroad from the Atlantic Ocean across the American continent, through the Gold region, to the Bay of San Francisco. *The people of San Francisco will then communicate, by telegraph, in a few minutes; and the mails will be taken on one side in fourteen days to Canton, and to London in nine days; so that intelligence may be conveyed from one end to the other in the short period of twenty-three days. This will be witnessed in five years.*" Another American journal observes as follows:—"The Galloway steamers, now establishing, will reduce the passage from the British shores to Halifax to six days' run. The new passage under immediate contemplation, if not already begun, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by the isthmus of Panama, will limit the land transit to twelve hours. The Atlantic terminus is to be established at Navy Bay. This enterprize, it is contemplated, will be completed in eight years. Navy Bay has been selected to avoid the unhealthiness of Chagres. A city is to be built on the north-east of the bay," &c. &c. &c.

Now, as if these projected cuttings and transit lines run in competition with each other betwixt ocean and ocean, across the face of America, were not enough, we find an extract from the New York correspondent of our *Times* of August 23, 1849, to the following effect; and to which we most especially call attention:—

"The Chamber of Commerce of this city (New York),

have been for some weeks, through their committee, engaged in the investigation of the relative merits of various projects, formed in different parts of the country, for constructing a railroad communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The result of their investigation is published this morning, and is decidedly in favour of the plan brought forward by Mr. Whitney, regarding which I gave a very full account in my letter to the *Times* of July 17. At a meeting of the Chamber, yesterday, the following resolutions were adopted, which evidence the approval of this body of the proposed plan in its conception and details :—Whereas, the construction of a railroad, to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific in a direct line across the continent, has become of vital importance ; and whereas, the plan of Mr. Whitney, of New York, for the construction of such a communication in its leading features, as well as the favour it has met with from a large portion of the people, disembarrasses the undertaking from sectional and constitutional objections, which have so often impeded internal improvements, therefore, it is **RESOLVED** that we highly approve the great features of Mr. Whitney's plan for the construction of a railroad from the Michigan to the Pacific ; and that we earnestly recommend its immediate adoption by Congress. **RESOLVED**, that a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the United States' senators and members of Congress, from this district," &c.

In proof that this gigantic and portentous scheme was no ephemeral fantasy invented in the north, and so near our Canadian lines, merely to keep pace with the reported projects of similar undertakings in the south, the preceding was followed up by an article in our *Times*, of September 21, 1849, as follows :—

“The English public are aware that a project has been put forward by a Mr. Whitney, of New York, for a railway to the Pacific, the length of which would be 2,630 miles ; but, perhaps, neither the practicability of the work, nor the extent to which it has found favour in America, has been sufficiently appreciated. Mr. Whitney proposes that the route should commence at Lake Michigan, at which point there is already steam communication to New York, and that it should thence proceed to California. For the construction he asks no capital ; but simply that Congress should grant thirty miles of land, on each side of the line, at 10 per cent. per acre, which land is at the present, for most part, worth nothing, and could only be brought into value by the opening of the road. Possessed of this grant, the projector would require sufficient to be sold to complete a section of ten miles : and as the land, at the commencement of the route, would be in settled districts, and therefore, unlike the rest, would fetch immediately a good price, he would not only have no difficulty in finishing this section, but would have considerable supplies of property on each side of it for future contingencies. The construction of the first ten miles being completed, by the sale and settlement of the land through which it would run, the next ten miles, instead of starting from an unimproved and unpeopled spot, would then pass through a district rendered valuable by the population which had advanced towards it ; and in this way, bit by bit, the work would be steadily completed. For eight hundred miles the country through which the road would have to traverse would be of the best description of settlement, more than five hundred miles being without timber ; and, so far from the supposed grant of thirty miles on each side being

likely to interfere unfavourably with the revenue from the public land, there can be little doubt the tide of settlers it would attract would ultimately enhance the value of the surrounding ungranted districts to a degree far beyond what they would have produced but for the existence of the railroad. For *seven years*—that is to say, *ever since the settlement of the Oregon*—the projector has laboured at the scheme apparently with increasing confidence in its feasibility, although with little encouragement, *until the discoveries of California brought the public to his side*. But there are still more difficulties to overcome in the shape of local jealousies; several States of the Union being ready to oppose the general plan, in order to support *any other route that would run through their own lands*. The select committee in Congress, however, to whom it was referred, have declared it to be as simple as it is vast, and that they see no insurmountable difficulties in the way of its successful accomplishment. It has also received the approval of NINETEEN different States, in most of which the desirableness of the scheme has been universally urged. Mr. Whitney calculates that the whole line might be completed in fifteen years; and there are some who believe that, if it were to succeed, *America must become the axle upon which the whole world would revolve*. It would, it is remarked, place New York within twenty-five days, and London within thirty-seven days, of China, and open the immense wilderness of American waste lands, with its very fine soil, to the overgrown populations of Europe, and ASIA. One feature of the plan is, that in *granting the now valueless lands* the Government are to run no risk of granting them in vain. It is proposed that two hundred miles of the road should be surveyed, and ten miles of it brought

into working order, before a single acre of the land shall be sold to reimburse the outlay ; and, even then, only the half of the thirty miles, on the sides of the completed section, are to be given up—the other half, as well as the portion of the line that has been constructed, being retained by the Government as security for the completion of the remainder. A bill, enabling him to commence the road, will be brought forward the next session of Congress, and its success or rejection will form one of the most interesting questions of the present times. Thus far the novelty and vastness of the plan have constituted the only grounds for scepticism ; but, with the history of Fulton and Dewitt Clinton before us, it hardly seems probable that an objection of this kind could long prove a bar to American enterprize.”

Amidst the multitude of such reports, so long and widely circulating through the United States, one thing seemed indubitable—namely, that the scheme of a railroad betwixt both oceans would be immediately carried into execution *somewhere*, if not at different points ; transit across the continent being but of indirect advantage to such States as would be placed by their north or south situation remote from the line selected. Now, while everything tended, and still *tends*, to confirm opinion that the grand project will yet be practised where it cannot but most vitally affect us—namely, in the vicinity of our Canadian colonies—we are suddenly surprised by the astounding intelligence that the States have not only outmanœvred us in diplomatic cunning, by contracting a clandestine treaty with the Government of Nicaragua, to the effect of constructing a passage by form of canal, *via* the San Juan river and Lakes Nicaragua and Leon, but, in secret treaty with the republic of Honduras, have

actually taken possession of the island of Tigre, in the Bay of Fonseca: and this at the *very time* negotiations were pending between our representative at Guatemala and the Nicaraguan Government, to secure the advantage of such a route for the benefit of Great Britain, whose influence has been for so long a time circumvented and sapped by the superior political astuteness and intriguing finesse of the United States' ministers. It now appears that, amidst the various reports of some such passage being in contemplation by the American Government, our English Ministers were not *altogether* disposed to remain as mere passive spectators; but conceived the idea of *also* undertaking such a scheme; and, in their undecided hesitation in the choice of a point of traject, seem to have accorded a vague kind of preference for this line of canal, without reflecting that such a route would become almost nugatory for the general purpose of Asiatic intercommunication—first, from the protracted length of voyage up the American coast, which the shores of the Mosquito demand; the unwholesome heats and deadly influence of that pestiferous climate, and the continual exposure of both banks of such a canal to invasion either from north, south, or both—necessitating us at all times to maintain such garrisons as could not but encumber us with enormous expense, and render us perpetually liable to jealous quarrels on the part of the Americans, who would, most probably, finish at last, from a sentiment of mutual interest and self-defence, by joining to eject us from obtruding a foreign thoroughfare through the centre of their continent so little to their own comparative profit and importance—and, secondly, from the constant opportunity which the situation would afford for the interference of European powers, supported by the Ame-

ricans, and the proven impracticability of establishing protection under British arms on this fatal shore, so sadly memorable in the history of British emigration, with its prevalent fevers and impracticable "*blue fields*."

While we were condensing these facts on the results of our diplomatic passages with the United States, on the subject of the Nicaraguan question, we were edified by the following notice in the *Times* of the 4th December, 1849:—

"We have a copy of the last despatch, addressed by Mr. Chatfield, as the representative of Great Britain, to the Government of Nicaragua, on the Mosquito question. It is dated Guatemala, 5th September; and after referring to the weak but *offensive* style of declaration resorted to by Nicaragua, Mr. Chatfield proceeds once more to recapitulate the various points on which the Mosquito claim is founded, in hopes of inducing the Nicaraguan Government to deal with them logically in any *future* communication that may take place, instead of confining themselves to violent assumptions against England, based upon a total disregard of all acknowledged facts. It has been attempted (he observes) to deny the national and actual independence which the Mosquitos have always enjoyed in their territory, the existence of their kings or hereditary princes, and their constant connection with England during more than two centuries; and that the course Nicaragua has taken has closed the door from the beginning to every rational discussion which, on various occasions, I (Mr. Chatfield) have endeavoured to bring about."

Significant and emphatic earnest THIS of what we had to expect in the tenure of a route through the heart of this country! But while we were waiting for the result of Mr. Chatfield's patient appeal to the honest *logic* of

his Nicaraguan opponents, we were suddenly impressed with a feeling betwixt tragedy and comedy, to learn, upon the back of this intelligence, the following stroke of smart practice, boldly perpetrated by the United States, and chronicled in the *Times*, as follows:—

“Advices from Nicaragua communicate the intelligence of the ratification, by both Houses of the Legislature, of the contracts with Mr. White, representative of the Ship Canal Company, and of the treaty of *alliance, friendship and commerce, navigation and protection*, concluded with Mr. Squier, the Minister from Washington. The Government had also negotiated a treaty, ceding to the United States the island of Tigre, in the Gulf of Fonseca, which was *immediately* taken possession of by an American squadron. The following is Mr. Squier’s official circular:—

“‘Legation of the United States in Central America, Leon de Nicaragua, Sept. 28th, 1849.

“‘Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that the island of Tigre, in the Gulf of Fonseca, has been ceded to the United States of America, by the Republic of Honduras, for the time pending constitutional action upon an existing convention between the two Republics; and, accordingly, speedy possession will be taken of the same on behalf of the United States. The existing port, and other regulations of the island, will be continued till otherwise ordered.’”

But the concluding paragraph is the “most unkindest cut of all”—the *fin bouquet* of the “Squier Circular”—which must have conveyed no ordinary emotion to our West India fleet, so close in the vicinity of this summary achievement:—

“I have the honour to add (says Mr. Squier’s Cir-

cular) that the United States has *acquired interests in the western islands and coasts of Honduras which will not permit us to look with* **INDIFFERENCE** *upon any measures which shall affect the present order of things in that quarter.*

“ I am, Sir, &c., &c.,

“ E. GEORGE SQUIER.”

For those dull of understanding, the following, from the *New York Herald*, referring to the cession of Tigre island, will serve as a light :—

“ This bay (Fonseca) is the natural outlet for the proposed ship canal, *via* the San Juan river and the lakes of Nicaragua and Leon. Tigre island is *only important as commanding* the bay. The treaty is a *favourable* piece of evidence in support of the opinion that General Taylor will not surrender one *iota* of the ground which he has taken in the Nicaragua controversy with Great Britain. Whatever may be the disposition of Mr. Clayton to a compromise, it is not probable that General Taylor will consent to any arrangement which would invalidate the treaty with Nicaragua, and the rights of the parties in it to the protection of the Government. It is probable, however, that the dispute will be submitted to the Senate for its advice, although we do not apprehend it will advise an acknowledgment of the claims of Mr. Chatfield.”

Another American paper, dated New York, 21st December, exultingly expatiates upon the same theme thus :—

“ The most interesting news, in connection with the foreign policy of this country, is from Nicaragua. The dates from Leon are the 18th and 19th October, with the intelligence that the contract for the ship canal has been unanimously ratified by both Houses of the Legislature, and has become a law ; so, also, has become the

treaty of *alliance, friendship, commerce, navigation, and PROTECTION*. The Nicaraguans are overjoyed at the unexpected consequence they have acquired ; and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Salinas, in addressing the Chamber, claimed that the identity of principles and interests between that country and the United States of North America *must one day unite them* in the most intimate bonds of fraternity and mutual advantage. Mr. Squier has succeeded in obtaining from the Republic of Honduras, one of the confederates of Nicaragua, the cession of the famous island of Tigre, in the Gulf of Fonseca—an object of cupidity to *more than one* European power. This movement was somewhat precipitated by the rumour that two English men-of-war were about to take possession of it. The island of Tigre not only commands the gulf, but the whole coast ; and, if the Nicaragua project should be carried out, this island will be invaluable to the Americans.”

If any further evidence be required of the troublesome and perilous interference to which we should indubitably be exposed, by persevering in such speculative excursions beyond our natural and colonial limits, as we seem inclined to attempt in the projection of a canal across the territories of a foreign power, let us now refer to the ominous signal pronounced by the official organ of a still more formidable power than the United States, provoked, by the circumstances, to declare its opinion upon this delicate subject. With this intent we quote the French *Journal des Debats*, of the 4th December, 1849, which expresses itself thus :—

“ This railway across the Isthmus of Panama will only fulfil its destination, and be what it ought, in proportion as it remains a *neutral* passage, to which *all* nations are

admitted, without distinction, on the same footing. Even *this* would be insufficient : *cases of war must be foreseen, and provided for.* The neutrality of the isthmus railroad is *indispensable* to the *general* interests of commerce. No one maritime power *must* be allowed to TAKE POSSESSION of it, in order to work its own exclusive advantage to the detriment of all the rest. A diplomatic convention for this purpose would be very opportune. The Company—of which it would be the evident interest—ought to be the first to solicit such a guarantee ; and there is reason to believe that it would not be indisposed to such an arrangement ; for it can only be at its own request that the United States Government has intervened with the Government of New Granada. A treaty of this kind, in which the contracting parties with New Granada, and the United States, would be not only France and England, but also *Russia*, whose possessions are washed on the west, as well as the east, by the Pacific Ocean, would at PRESENT encounter no obstacle. But *such* obstacle *may be encountered* at a *later* period ; and we must hope, therefore, that the parties interested will turn their attention to the subject without delay.”

This pithy inuendo is sufficient testimony of the hard price and thorny consequences to which the parties must be subjected who would appropriate the right of such canal ; and, were it in process of formation to-morrow, we should hear of other powers, besides France and Russia, preferring claims of equal privilege to the navigation of this proposed passage, until we should see all Europe pretending to the benefit in case of success, without subscribing a shilling to the expense, or making themselves liable, on the other hand, to the risk of failure. Should the free right to such a passage be

accorded to all "without distinction," the maritime interests of England could not but be seriously prejudiced and damaged, indeed, by the facility it would afford all other nations to compete with us in sea-carriage to Asia by transit so materially shortened, and at a cost so infinitely reduced. We should find the ports and banks of this canal passage, besides, a scene of interminable jealousy and contention; in which, as the most prosperous and formidable, we should necessarily be the most envied and opposed—constantly vexed and thwarted by mercantile and political cabals and intrigues, protected by local force equal to our own; and our voice drowned in the combined decisions of conspiring nations. Again, the promiscuous crowds of European fleets, which the freedom of this abridged route would let in upon the coast of China, would most probably deteriorate in a signal degree the influence and superiority we at present maintain in that quarter, by having our rivals as familiarly habituated to the Chinese shores, as our own shipping; and, in process of a little time, perhaps, we might see our European antagonists more gladly received by the Chinese authorities than ourselves, from their mutual feeling of envy and revenge. Should the neutrality of the passage, on the other hand, be guaranteed to all nations, in case of war, what difficulties would so singular an anomaly not entail upon our naval service, and into what perplexity would it not plunge our national policy and mercantile relations by having a territory in the very face of our West Indies, and between us and our Australian colonies, and Asiatic possessions and connexions, converted into a privileged and protected rendezvous and marine refuge for our enemies? Besides, the long stretch of unnecessary southing to be accomplished betwixt this country and the Caribbean Sea, be-

fore this passage to the Pacific can be attained, and the peril of capture to which our mercantile fleets must be exposed in case of war with America, by the necessity of so long a line of coasting on an enemy's shore ; the protracted navigation under tropical heat which a voyage so directed would require ; the increased extent of longitudinal distance, even to a moiety, as we approach the line, and the very partial curtailment of time gained by this still circuitous route to North Eastern Asia, must more than counterbalance, by positive objections, the exaggerated advantages anticipated in the pass of Panama. In fine, a British station upon the isthmus, for the purpose of effecting the traverse, will be found untenable, from the combination of a thousand causes ; and the small distance thereby to be saved would scarcely make this contested and precarious trajet worth the sacrifices such an experiment would demand. To abandon the exclusive right in it to the United States, and their allied custodians of the ground, would yet assist them but to a very imperfect advantage ; since not a plank can float on either margin of the isthmus but upon our sufferance ; so that not a bale or package could be transported from sea to sea by this projected canal—presenting as it would both mouths at our discretion—without our sanction ; while the very field of enterprize to which it would lead is equally subjected to our ascendant power.

The truth is, more danger is to be apprehended for the interests of Great Britain, from the railroad projected by Mr. Whitney, than from the distant canal to be run through the “ *blue fields*” of the Mosquito shore, where disease and death must claim to become the presiding genii of its waters. Did the smallest doubt cling to the

mind as to the feasibility of the Whitney project, gigantic as it appears, the reasoned and deliberate opinion of persons of the most capable and approved judgment, representing NINETEEN different States, and who must be not only conversant with all the obstacles and difficulties to be encountered, but likewise familiar with the means of vanquishing them, prove, without further reference, that the design is not only practicable, but *assured*. For let us only once more consider the letter of the *Times'* New York correspondent, on the subject of the proposed route from the Michigan to the Californian coast, and judge whether England has not just cause for alarm at the prospect of its completion. What English, or, if you please, European country, is to be placed by this proposed line "within thirty-seven days of China;" whilst the immense "wilderness and fine soil of America," is opened to the "over-grown populations of Europe and *Asia*." Mark you—"the population of *Asia*," nay, "Europe and *Asia*"—at the combined instance of so many of our disinterested friends—may even prefer to traffic and transact, meet and amalgamate, through the medium of this direct track, without troubling London or Liverpool at all on the subject of their interests and concerns! This at least is certain in the progress of such a road—the *inevitable loss of Canada*, who, in her present disturbed, isolated, and neglected state, could never resist the temptation of such a source of prosperity offered to her embrace; nor even anticipate it, without becoming of necessity the very first to press forward for a participation of the wealth flowing at her door, deterred in vain from this just impulse of proper self-interest by the continued *paw-pawing* of our temporizing policy, the shuffling assurances of amelio-

ration and redress, and the tardy concession at last, perhaps, when too late, of the desiderated bit of road so long projected, in urgent necessity for the benefit of the colony, betwixt Halifax and Quebec; the injurious and disgraceful want of which, for military and commercial purposes, is everywhere so severely felt by all connected with this dependency, except at our Colonial Office; where, unless some prompt and effective measures be adopted for the speedy redemption of this departing possession, the Ministry must soon be relieved from all further uneasiness and care for this lost, disordered and languishing remnant of British empire in North America. At present, time and circumstances have so combined, that the readiest and most effectual means of renovation and relief for Great Britain and Canada are identical. These means the United States are teaching us by practice, but the conception has occupied the English mind long before the suggestive annexation of California to the States Union; or the project embraced by Mr. Whitney, of New York, was published to the world. This can be substantiated by a thousand authentic testimonies. At present, be it our task to explain the means in as perspicuous and satisfactory a manner as possible, in a comprehensive, yet brief summary, for which purpose we must again revert to Canada.

CHAPTER V.

CANADIAN JUNCTION OF THE TWO OCEANS.

As the overture to the present chapter, we crave permission to propose one single question to the reader. If the grand railroad scheme of Mr. Whitney, of New York, be sanctioned by the approval of *nineteen* different States, supported by the deliberate examination and favourable report of a formal Committee of Congress, as a project obviously practicable and supremely advantageous for the United States of America, why, let us ask, should not such a project be equally applicable to the Canadas, so immediately approximate in position, and so similarly characterized in all their natural features and attributes of climate and country with the connected lands over which it is proposed to project this approved railroad? Nay, if the Whitney scheme is fraught with such prodigious benefit to the American community as its approvers so warmly and confidently anticipate, surely such an enterprize, conducted between both oceans, within the limits of *our own British territories*, were far more certain and effective in result, paramount as we are on both seas—discretionary lords of the Pacific islands—colonizers of Australia, New Zealand, and Van Diemen's Land—masters of Ceylon, Penang, Borneo, and Hong-Kong—dictators to China, and conquerors of Hindostan

on one side—the principal carriers of Europe and chief occupants of the coast colonies of Africa on the other—masters of the principal North American and West Indian islands between ; with a *terra firma* footing in Guiana, and possessed of the finest position of the whole West American shore, conspicuous, at an eye-glance, in the site of Vancouver's Land, lying as it does in direct parallel with Britain and our Canadian capitals, abutting so invitingly upon Asia ; and with the convenient harbours of New Georgia and the commodious roadsteads of Nootka Sound protected under its cover. With such points of prominent advantage—with our interests and relations everywhere rooted and ramified—the scheme of a direct western communication with Asia decidedly lies within *our especial* province, since ours is the largest stake ; and the greatest advantages obtainable from its execution must be derived by Great Britain, whose present critical circumstances, moreover, imperatively demand some such means of effective relief to the stagnation of exhausted enterprize, and the suffocating repletion of native population, which is gradually gathering, winter after winter, by aggravated distress, like an impending avalanche ready to overwhelm us.

If, moreover, the Whitney line, after the necessary survey and the mature consideration of so many practical and responsible persons, is pronounced to be a feasible undertaking, in despite of distance and natural impediments, why should we hesitate to emulate the example in settlements of our own, to which the same surveyor's reports might generally apply, merely on the gratuitous supposition of greater difficulties and obstructions, somehow, or somewhere, existent in the way of such an enterprize by us ? It was even so that our

own railroads at home, our Caledonian Canal, our Thames Tunnel, the Menai Tube, the Electric Telegraph, the Plymouth Breakwater, the Eddystone Lighthouse, and all the other numerous monuments of our national enterprise—accumulated to our glory and profit over the land—were each and all of them successively doubted and opposed till perseveringly prosecuted in the face of resistance to triumphant completion. What, after all, were such an undertaking conducted by British genius, with British capital, and British industry, across the bosom of Canada; while the Americans of the States are pushing their railroads through every region and district of their territories; and even sluggish Austria, and semi-barbaric Russia, are training them across their deserts? What were such a work to the ordinary achievements of such men as the Czar Peter, Napoleon, or even the late Ali Pasha, with his stinted means and limited population? What were such an undertaking, great as it may seem, compared with the monuments of human power existing amid a people we affect to despise, and towards whom the very railroad here proposed would immediately lead?—we mean the public works of China—such as her Imperial Canal, that employed *thirty thousand men forty-three years*? What were it to her celebrated frontier wall, *one thousand five hundred miles long, twenty-five feet high, twenty-four feet broad*, with towers at the distance of every hundred yards, conducted over lofty mountains: across the deepest vales: over wide rivers by means of arches, and in many parts doubled, and even trebled, to command important passes?—A structure estimated to contain material more than sufficient to erect all the houses of England and Scotland, or to build a wall twelve feet high, and four thick, entirely round the globe

at the *equator* ! What were a railroad through Canada to the Pacific compared to the labours still visible in the remains of the military walls bestowed by the Romans upon *their* colony of Great Britain ? And yet, how much more important in purpose and result would be the railway in question ?

The truth is, that grand works depend more upon grand men than upon grand means ; and the genius of those appointed to direct the energies of nations ought to possess capacity and power to embrace vast objects, in defiance of difficulty and impediment, leaving the timid, selfish and superficial spirits of the narrow-minded to be frightened at the bare thought of the mental exertion and sacrifice of personal convenience and ease which they cost. We assert that to a daring mind, fit to deal with the destinies of Great Britain, there is nothing speculative in our design, which in proportion as it is viewed grows *necessary* on the sight. Indeed, we are indulging in no scheme after all ; except the desire, if possible, to keep pace with the intentions, policy, and operations of the Americans.

The length of line proposed by Mr. Whitney, to run from the Michigan by a southern divergency to San Francisco, comprehends a distance of 2,080 miles ; while a direct route from the north-west point of Lake Superior, to the ports covered by Vancouver's Land, would be only 1,600 miles in distance ; and what is that compared to the number of miles covered by the numerous railroads intersecting each other in England ? What is that to the amount of territory laid under rails in America—no less than 6,421 miles of railway being in actual operation, within the limits of the United States at the commencement of the present year ? And, as to the

expense, what were that, in comparison to the exorbitant rate of railroads constructed in this country? The cost of our railways—owing to the parliamentary charges, the heavy stamp and law expenses, the excessive engineering and surveying disbursements, the exorbitant prices demanded for lands, and the compulsory obligation of keeping open every old road and footpath—has necessarily involved enormous outlay; and this consideration, coupled with that of the recent failures, which have plunged us into so much financial difficulty and consternation, should naturally disgust us at the bare thought of undertaking sixteen hundred miles of railway in a colony, whatever might be the promised advantages, if such an enterprize demanded an expenditure anything equal to the rate of such works in England. But we stand unique in the exorbitancy of the cost attendant upon railroad operations: for example, the Blackwall railway cost £326,670 per mile; the Greenwich, £204,733; the London and Birmingham, £53,780; the Great Western, £55,830; the South Western, £27,750; Liverpool and Manchester, £49,820; Manchester and Leeds, £59,800; and the London and Brighton, £64,370; while, in strong contrast to these, the Forfar, the Aylesbury-junction, and Hayle railways, only cost £9,130, £8,710, and £6,940 per mile. Eleven lines in France have only cost from £20,000 to £25,000 per mile. In Austria, railroads have cost from £15,000 to £20,000; and in Belgium from £6,000 to £8,000. But those in the United States—considerably under the sum at which the estimates of railroads in Canada are to be computed—amount only in their whole cost, including plant, to the average cost of 30,000 dollars, or £6,000, per mile; and the Canadian railroads of Detroit and the

Kalamazoo, which may well serve as a criterion of the moderate expense of such works in the latter country, are only £1,500 *currency per mile*!—none of the enormous expenses and sacrifices incurred in England being required in the open and yet unpeopled lands of America. Thus, instead of the stupendous consequences which, in the event of a grand railroad transit betwixt both oceans over the Canadian territories would revolutionize the whole social system of the globe—rolling, as we should, the wealth of the world along its train—if it should only yield a return equal to the profit of a railroad in England, were not that a sufficient inducement? And what, we repeat, were the outlay, according to the American rate of cost incidental to such works, compared with the emolumentary proceeds derivable from such an undertaking? Why, more public money is expended in the idle cavilling and legislative paltering of the timorous and short-sighted persons who are accustomed, in their mistaken places in Parliament, to oppose, in the impertinence of their pretended prudence and affected wisdom, all such projects of grandeur and nerve as are here submitted, than the heaviest expenses which their accomplishment would incur. For it is a cheap and easy mode to establish a character for caution by the paraded love of public economy, resting on the safe grounds of scepticism—a sentiment which spares the unbeliever the trouble of inquiry, and enables the man of contemptible parts to hide the narrowness of his conceptions in the lying show of superior discretion. This is a practice constantly exerted by pseudo sages connected with public affairs, to the retrogression of improvement, and the serious obstruction of the public good, which is constantly postponed to the mischievous display of these

officious damnifiers by profession, who are habitually permitted to slip away into silence, and out of sight, when success crowns the measures they oppose, instead of being dragged to account and made to smart for the public injury they occasion. The busy, drivelling, and wanton impediments so detrimentally offered by these universal antagonists to all innovations, however salutary, was admirably illustrated by Sir F. Head, when he stated that "£10,000,000 were expended in parliamentary inquiries, and parliamentary contests, in 1845, 1846, and 1847; and that that money would, at the rate of £20,000 per mile, have constructed a national railway of *five hundred* miles in length, say, from London to Aberdeen." And consequently, at £3,000 per mile, the probable mean cost of railway constructions in Canada, the sum so fatuitously dissipated by these sages in Parliament, would have sufficed to defray the expense of a railroad double the length proposed from Lake Superior to the Pacific, or more than sufficient to accomplish the whole line of route from Nova Scotia to the ports of the gulf of Georgia.

Be it here, however, distinctly understood, that the project about to be submitted does not of *necessity* demand that Government should directly interpose with capital and means; but we insist that, with the sanction of its authority alone, private enterprize could not but be instantly stimulated to accomplish the whole and entire undertaking. With the partial co-operation of Government in the beneficial and facile manner about to be propounded, the plan would be accelerated to successful consummation so effectually, cheaply, and soon, as to be unequalled in the example of public works in this country. Many physical objections, at present not accurately foreseen, may, however, exist in a country so little

known and explored as the back settlements of Canada. Waters to be bridged, morasses to be drained, eminences to be tunnelled, woods to be felled, and mountains to be traversed: still the noblest monuments of public utility, human genius and labour ever conceived and executed, have been generally conspicuous, at the same time, for the extraordinary obstacles opposed to their accomplishment. On this subject a popular and most eloquent writer observes that—

“ When we turn our attention to the particular localities which the most distinguished nations of the world have occupied, we are astonished as much at the natural difficulties which they overcame as at the advantages they enjoyed. The Egyptians were the most celebrated of all the nations of remote antiquity; and yet they located themselves on a spot of ground which was nothing more nor less than a huge morass: with incredible labour and skill they drained this morass, and intersected it with canals, dykes, and stupendous buildings, which even excite the admiration of modern mechanical omnipotence. They conquered a kingdom from the sea, and with exhaustless toil set bounds to the swelling flood, and made a smiling garden in the bottom of a river and a huge lake. The Babylonians did the same thing: they also chose, with singular eccentricity of taste, a huge morass, an immense level bog, on which they built a tower, and walls, that have never since been surpassed, or paralleled, and this in defiance of nature: they did all this without a single stone wherewith to erect their buildings: they made stones for themselves by burning the clay with which the bog supplied them. This bog they drained, and cultivated, and converted it into a fruitful field; and they became, in this most disad-

vantageous spot, the most powerful people in the world—the indefatigable cultivators of the arts and sciences—models of industry, famous for their wisdom, exhaustless wealth, and political resources for hundreds of years. Syria at one time was the garden of the world; its hills were covered with vineyards, whose clusters of grapes were so ponderous that branches alone could not support them. Cornfields were waving in rich abundance in every valley, and cattle were supplied with luxuriant pasture. This was also the work of labour. Now, these same hills are mere lumps of dried earth, without even a blade of grass upon them; and the valleys are covered with prickly pears, a sort of cactus or huge thistle, that a man with an axe is incapable of even cutting his way through a little field of them in a day. These a few starving cattle eat; and so scanty is the supply of milk, even in the modern Jerusalem, that the rich Europeans when they visit it are often obliged to take their tea and coffee without it. This is the land which was once flowing with milk and honey by means of the labour of man. Look at Rome: it stands in the midst of a natural desert: nothing can be more desolate looking than the view of the Campagna di Roma, or country which extends from the walls in the south-east direction. Standing on the top of Monte Aventino, the Porta San Paulo, or Porta Latina, you look on a wilderness, in many respects resembling that on which was reared the great Capitol of the Babylonian empire; and, yet, on this unfavourable spot arose the most powerful city of the western world—the political and ecclesiastical capital of Christendom. Venice, one of the most remarkable cities in modern times, has all been built upon the waters; and the genius and perseverance which

erected so singular a monument of human art were long rewarded by an accumulation of wealth and power that took the lead in the great commercial movement of the modern world. Holland is almost all like another Egypt wrested from the sea; and the cities of Holland, like so many Venices, are built upon the water by an application of skill, of wealth, and mercantile power, that seem almost superhuman."

And let us add the example of St. Petersburg, built upon piles, in a dreary swamp, far in the depths of the north, and ice-bound during six months in the year—a metropolis which, notwithstanding, rivals in the splendour of its public monuments, the beauty of its private buildings, its comforts, and gaieties, the most attractive capitals of Europe; but, more germane to our purpose still, let us also instance the remarkable example of Archangel and Tobolsk, surpassed in civilization by no cities of the same rank extant. We might easily extend the list, and show how the greatness of every people seems to originate with difficulty, and to be proportionate with the very obstacles which it has defied, attacked, and vanquished—but to return to our quotation:—

"The deserts of Lybia, Sahara, Haran, and the Tib, are only great oceans of dry and unprofitable sand, on which not even a blade of grass is grown for the nourishment of an insect. But the conquest of the desert was certainly attempted, and in part succeeded, as may be demonstrated from the ruins of such splendid cities as Balbec, Palmyra, and Padmore, in the wilderness, in which temples and palaces arose with Grecian and Roman magnificence. These, and other innumerable ruins of towns and cities on the great desert that forms at present an impassable barrier between the Eastern

and Western worlds, are evident marks to prove that the Great Desert evil itself is not insurmountable ; for what was once so well done by ruder, more barbarous, and less enlightened nations, may certainly be better done by nations more accomplished.

We now return to the subject of climate ; and the reader is most earnestly entreated to vouchsafe patience and pardon for the reiterated obtrusion of observation upon this theme. But he will have the complacence to remember that this is a constant objection in association with Canada : persons universally following the habit of condemning the rigours of its temperature whenever reference is made to that country, forgetting that, notwithstanding the salubrity, beauty, and fertility of this, our native soil, the British islands supply our continental neighbours with a constant subject of false commiseration and sarcasm, directed at us, their ill-fated inhabitants ; and this often pushed to the extreme of ignorant prejudice and vulgarity, whenever allusion is made to our British climate ; in spite of our superior lustihood and longevity : the splendour and elegance of our cities : the charming aspect of our villages : the luxury and magnificence of our country palaces and villas : the wealth and cheerfulness of our farms : the rich cultivation of our fields, and the model beauty of our gardens and ornamental parks, thickly spread even to the bleakest northern extremity of our islands. And yet the inclemency of our British climate remains a perpetual bye-word with the continentals. Who has ever passed a winter in Norway that does not remember their cities with pleasure ? But what Norwegian prefers even the air of Montpellier to the climate of Christiana ? or where do we find more thriving, healthier, or better-fed people than the inha-

bitants of these northern extremes of Europe? Tell the people of Drontheim, Stockholm, and Christianstadt, that they are to be pitied for the hardship of their fate, in being doomed to linger out life in so severe a climate; and pointing to their well-clothed backs and ruddy faces, their well-stored winter magazines and summer harvests, their abundant markets and thriving cattle, they will ask you in what their inferiority to England in real comfort and happiness consists. What an enviable paradise would not a prosperous Norwegian homestead appear in the eyes of millions inhabiting more favoured climates!—In fine, the countries are necessarily few that can boast a temperature always in the golden mean; for those that escape the intensity of cold in their winter, are subject, on the other hand, to summers of intolerable heat; and even under the azure skies of central Italy, there are in reality fewer days favourable to out-door pleasure or labour than in England, or even that sorely belied country of Upper Canada, the severity of whose winters has been so extravagantly exaggerated. We have been in both; and, were we compelled to choose, would rather prefer to labour in the open air of Canada than expose our constitution to inevitable destruction by daily field-work under the vaunted skies of Italy. We passed the year of 1845 in Rome, and at Tivoli in its immediate vicinity; and in the latter sojourn found the winds of winter, when impelled from the north-east, come chilled by the mountain-snows over which they swept, so bitterly shrewd and searching, that, although their keenness had to contend with considerable solar vigour, and the mercury of the thermometer remained unprecipitated to so low an index as it inva-

riably marks at the same season north of the Baltic, still never in Sweden, Russia, or Norway, were we ever, to the best of our memory, more inconvenienced by cold than we occasionally were in this country of favourite resort; insomuch as to be driven from our Tivolese residence to town quarters in Rome, where we were still compelled to burn fires even till the last days of April; the raw mists and vapours in the evening and early morning being indescribably cheerless and oppressive, and the country frequently visited by rainy torrents that fell like melted snow; while the occasional overflowing of the Anio and Tiber flooded the surrounding Campagna, spreading gloom and desolation as far as eye could reach, arresting all traffic, and engendering dejection and disease. In sudden contrast with this dampness and frigidity, marked by the muffling cloaks and woollen knitting universally assumed in winter by the inhabitants, was the heat of summer, which from May till September was so insupportable, that, in common with the natives, we were habitually compelled to exclude the light of day, and confine ourselves to artificial twilight, while resorting to every imaginable means to cool our apartments by constant aspersions, and forced currents of air; while the peasants, to escape the heat, were generally fain to confine their labours of the field to hours before sunrise; leaving the face of the country for the remainder of the day without any visible sign of human life. The artizans, on the other hand, engaged in the heavier callings, and such as require the aid of fire, choose to perform their work in the night. During these summer months the odour of the rank herbage was overcoming: every pool and ditch breathed miasmata; and the smallest object of foul matter and cast offal filled the air with pestilential particles. And

yet this is one of the choice gardens of the world, where people of pleasure, from every other nation of Europe, resort for the enjoyment of its approved nature and most genial atmosphere !

The very same objection might apply to Spain and Portugal, or any other of the most attractive countries of our Southern Continent ; not even excepting Montpellier itself in Midsummer, nor the boasted island of Madeira, the temperature of which we have found to be insupportable during the meridian heat, and southeasterly winds of the summer months. Neither have the United States, with all the preference commonly accorded by emigrants, to vaunt exemption from the general objections attachable to every climate, and so unjustly imputed to Canada in particular. On consulting a common geographical summary, casually at hand while we write, we find the following accounts :—First, PROVINCE OF MAINE—" Though in summer the heat is *intense*, and in winter the cold is *extremely severe*, yet the climate is in general considered salubrious." NEW HAMPSHIRE—" The summer is *short* and *very hot*, while the winter, on the contrary, is *long* and *severe*." PENNSYLVANIA—" Is in winter *excessively* cold, and the summer heats would be *intolerable* but for frequent cooling breezes." MARYLAND—" Is mild in the northern parts ; but, towards the south, there are long tracks of low marshy land, *fatal* to health." VIRGINIA—" Climate is various, but on the whole is *not very* salubrious. In summer the heat is *excessive*, and the sudden transitions from burning heat to intense cold, which sometimes take place in twenty-four hours, are extremely injurious to the human constitution : in autumn heavy rains fall which occasion *all the train of diseases* incident to a

moist climate." THE CAROLINAS—"Resemble Virginia; and, in the low marshy country along the coast, *bilious diseases and fevers of various kinds are prevalent.*" GEORGIA—"The climate is generally considered *unfavourable* to health from the numerous swamps: the summers are *excessively* hot," &c. &c.

It is certain that the prejudiced and inconsiderate have cruelly maligned the climate of Canada. But what says report of the country of California?—that choice and select land of popular preference and resort—so superior to its Canadian neighbourhood, and which is about to become the centre of the grand maritime operations contemplated by the United States, and to which our slighted settlements upon Nootka Sound are in danger of being permanently postponed? On this subject let us reproduce the report of the *Times*' correspondent, published in that paper Wednesday, October 3, 1849:—

"There is a great deal of indisposition at present prevailing here (San Francisco), arising from the effects of the variableness of the climate, which is the most disagreeable upon earth. The mornings are generally foggy; the forenoons frequently hot; and the nights bitterly cold even now, the height of summer. Dysentery and pulmonary complaints are common here, and persons from the interior, which is *very hot*, are particularly subject to those diseases, owing to the very sensible change of the climate."

So much for the new settlement, in preference to which such crowds of British emigrants eschew our *neglected* and *rejected* possessions of western Canada! In further testimony of the preposterous and injurious infatuation manifest in this misdirected impulsion, communicated to our migratory countrymen, let us be per-

mitted to quote another Californian correspondence from the columns of the *Times* of Friday, 30th November, 1849 :—

“ This country can never afford a field for the agriculturist. Its climate is so dry and parching that it not only absorbs all moisture in the soil, but dries up every fount or spring that might serve the purpose of irrigation. It yields no crops—not even of sickly grass, except along the margin of the Sacramento, or the San Joaquin. In the vales frequented by the miners, there is not sufficient herbage to maintain their animals. The only product of the soil is timber—oak and pine trees wondrous to behold, piercing the clouds, such is their altitude. As to climate, the days are very *warm* ; the evenings and mornings *cool* ; and the nights *cold*. No dews or rain just now. The rainy season commences in *December*, continuing with agreeable intermissions, till about the *beginning of March* ; but sufficiently heavy to put a stop, for the time, to all road and most river communication ; so that the miners are obliged to lay up their winter stores before that season sets in. Many emigrants are endeavouring to retrace their steps for the winter to Fort Seramie. *Some have crossed the OREGON frontier*”—[to seek refuge in Canada ? !]—“ some diverged to the Mormon settlement ; and others again were erecting winter quarters in Bear River.”

And yet this is the land to which the United States' Government has contrived to allure, in so short a space, a reported population of 150,000. Sublime mystification ! But the golden delusion is soon destined to be dispelled. More yet of these *unsettled settlers* will cross the *Oregon* to make *permanent* sojourn, or else we are in-

deed the victims of a dream ; for fully are we convinced that Canada, notwithstanding the superior qualities ascribed to the settlements south of her frontier, will most probably be found, on experience, to surpass both in health and fertility the choicest lands of American possession ; just as England practically eclipses in salubrity and produce the fairest countries of Europe. True—a warm climate is decidedly most favourable and convenient, for the comfort and ease of new settlers in a strange country, who have to rough it in the commencement, and wait upon time and season for the fruits of their industry and labour. During such period of probation, a genial sun is certainly both economical and pleasant : and the imagination of persons inclined to emigrate loves to luxuriate in pictures of tropical warmth and exuberance ; delighted to figure spontaneous crops of indigo, and sugar, rice, cotton, and tobacco, all flourishing under the sheltering shade of mangroves, bread-trees, plantains, bananas, and citron groves, and themselves unsubjected to the hardships of winter necessities and arrangements, but always forgetting their unskilled ignorance of the harvests they would gather ; and overlooking the fact that the absence of hibernal severities in a country must be purchased by equivalent, or rather extra, suffering under the ardours of their scorching summers ; and that the idea of tropical Edens should yet be inseparably associated with yellow fevers and bodily attenuation : calentures and diseased livers : hurricanes, earthquakes, and rainy seasons, far more irksome and injurious than the severest visitation of frosts and snows. In fine, the miraculous rapidity of vegetation in the summers of Canada liberally compensate for the tedium of winter, and richly provide for its exigencies ; and there

the winters, both for in-door occupation and pleasure, the sports of the field, and traffic by sledge, is not the least agreeable portion of the year, being, like the same season in the countries of our own northern Europe, the period for enjoyment and repose; and, peradventure, from the many particular labours it promotes, not the least profitable division of the annual circle.

The question now to be considered is the means of furnishing a population sufficiently numerous, prompt, and effective, immediately to compete with the surprising progress making by our American rivals on the Pacific, in their new settlement of California; and this, we consider, constitutes the most facile part of the important undertaking—tens of thousands of our fellow-countrymen, of every description and station, age and sex, being disposed and ready to depart from a country become untenable by the multiplication of numbers. The principal impediments to more general expatriation have consisted hitherto in the difficulty of deciding upon the most eligible and select quarter to which the surplus portion of our population should, in their collective interest and connexion, direct their views in common; so that, in relinquishing the country of their birth, they might still hold to the ties which bind them in mutual relationship and support with the community of their nation and race. The scientific and professional, the commercial and mechanical, have little inducement to abandon the native scene of their studies and pursuits, to lose themselves in foreign countries destitute of cities, in which alone they can pursue their occupations and callings; or where such cities as newly exist are already overthronged with practitioners in the same departments, who have already preceded them in migratory settle-

ment ; and where the capital required for successful establishment against competitors already located should, if possessed, spare them the necessity of migrating at all : for what professional person or mercantile principal can pretend, without considerable capital, to found establishments in any of our colonial cities, as they are now composed, and long ago choked up by our incessant overflow ? And with talents thus exposed to waste in our colonial cities, as much as they are obstructed at home, what have lawyers and doctors, divines and schoolmasters, artists, merchants, manufacturers, and even small artificers, to do away from cities, and sequestered in unpeopled wastes, being, for the most part, strangers to the use of spade or plough, and unable to distinguish the upshoots of oats from those of barley ; the potato plant from the turnip-top ? But only let us open facilities to these, by promoting their views in the proper sphere of their vocations ; and, in shifting them from the scene of their native home, have care still to maintain them incorporate as a body of connected Englishmen, necessary to, and dependent upon, each other : still identified with their mother country : subject still to its government and laws : unsevered and unestranged from close family intercourse and individual interests, in fine, just such as Englishmen are, and feel, when they merely transfer their business and domicile from one home city to another—and multitudes, now reluctant to disengage their immediate views and ambitions from our native soil, would be the first cheerfully to volunteer departure.

Instead of detaching isolated individuals and dissevered families to people deserts, and originate cities : objects which it would require centuries to accomplish, centuries of hardship and irregularity : we propose a general

Exodus ; the abstraction of a nation from forth the aggregate of our dense body of British population struggling for room—an organized migratory community, perfect and entire as a working whole, composed of co-operating forces and mobile cities, preserving authority and order under the unaltered maintenance of every established institution proper to our own Government and country—intact in the ancient and enlightened classification of grades and fortunes as they subsist in the high state of our civilized system—a little England in movement, pushed as an advance post of the mother country, but still as intimately knit up with, and connected as parcel and portion of, the British body, as if this abstract community were still a component part of the home mass. Start not, reader, at what may appear impracticable in such a proposition, but only vouchsafe us patience and dispassionate attention, and we confidently engage to convince you, by the feasible and simple plan we have now to develop, that we are no dreamers. The scheme is vast, and connected with combinations of correspondent magnitude ; but still the means are not only within compass and at hand, but are accompanied with the commendation of moderate sacrifice and cost, if really there would be any, and all bearing the patent stamp of successful precedent in *every detail*.

That emigration on a small and gradual scale affords but imperceptible and dubious relief to the over-peopled embarrassments of this country, is now an evident and well-attested fact—a fact substantiated by the annual migration of between *one and two hundred thousand* of our fellow-citizens from these shores, without any visible sign of ameliorated condition, or sensible decrease of our peopled repletion—new generations, which in multiplied

number still keep pressing into every space relinquished by prior occupants, as fast as their place is vacated, thereby rendering each year, with all the reductions, or rather shiftings, of taxation which can be devised: the abolitions of commercial restrictions: the softening of legislative rigours, and all the contrivances and subterfuges of financial fancy and dexterity, still more obstructed and perplexing than was its predecessor, which witnessed the last periodical batch of exiles depart the land. Let the colonial journals, and their commissioned advertisers in this country, allure as they will with spurious puffs—let the Emigration Societies, and their recruiting crimps, *tout* each for their own appointed settlement, and offer premiums, bounties, and free passages—let the charitable and benevolent coax obtrusive misery from the country—it is all in vain to ease the burthen until the desired and now *necessitated* movement be general, simultaneous, systematic, and concentrated. Let Lord John Russell head the list for promoting emigration among the needlewomen of the metropolis—let Lord Ashley encourage juvenile offenders and penitent sinners to make *voluntary* colonial excursions at the expense of the community—let Lord Lincoln ship Spitalfields weavers, and the Societies for the suppression of vice compassionately remedy the disproportion of the two sexes in Australia, by expediting cargoes of *fitted-out* magdalens. Let all these shoot forth here and there, loads of live rubbish from the English manufacturing towns: glean partial emigration in the fields: kidnap with an occasional capture an entire village now in Ireland, then in Scotland: disperse our people to the four points of the wind, to perish in temporary shéds on this foreign landing-place, or bivouack

in the streets of that other distant port. Let them herd in flocks in savage deserts, languish in tropical swamps, compete with convicts in remote public works, or run wild in solitary confinement within the gloomy depths of trackless forests—let sorrow and despair, fevers and privation, provide speedy rest in colonial graves for these banished outcasts—and transport-ships continue still to float in riot, to wreck, founder, or burn ; but yet in spite of all this and more, the swarm-plague, without unanimous system at home, and single purpose abroad, must still remain, in spite of famine and cholera, to menace the country with millions ready to devour each other ; and torture the remedial ingenuity of legislators and philanthropists, to rescue society from increasing trouble and just terror.

That emigration is at present the best and *only* cure for the population-tumour is obvious. It is our only present remedy. The means here proposed is emigration in masses, preserved in union and combination, by mutual dependence upon each other in the different pursuits and callings of their component members, exerted towards a common purpose and end, which should embrace the undivided attention and interest of all ; and this means, we maintain, may be easily carried out by our possession of the Canadas ; and the proposed railway junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

CHAPTER VI.

LINE OF RAILWAY.

ALTHOUGH, to anticipate the objections of prejudice, we have seemed partially to acknowledge the charge which ascribes inclemency to the climate of the Canadas, still the reader must not, for that, imagine that their actual temperature requires that they should be glossed over with apologetic subterfuge, for we maintain that the Upper provinces are not only the most favourable of all the earth for British constitutions, but that they actually vie in beauty and salubrity, in the general tenor of their seasons, with the happiest regions of the globe. In the rapid vigour of their spring, they are relieved from the dreary desolation of such protracted conflicts of wind and rain as those whose critical struggles, in face of our early vegetation, are wont to impress such apprehensive solicitude in this country. The Canadian summers are luxurious—their autumns joyous—and both so equably tempered in their progress that their transitions seem imperceptible; and their winters, honest in their dealing, carry their rigour with a steady and fixed constancy, true to the established calculations laid down for the same returning months, weeks, and days, proper to the season—never betraying the inhabitants to the superfluous incumbrance of extra garments out of time, nor into the premature removal of winter wraps by the treachery of false relaxation. The same

provision necessary against the first blasts of winter suffices, with rare necessity of alteration, until unequivocal change is proclaimed by the decided advent of spring. Not only do the products of Nature in this country surpass in quantity and quality those spontaneously natural to all countries in the same latitudes, but the soil here responds to the industrious appeals of man with a readiness and profusion almost unparalleled elsewhere; frequent instances existing of lands continuing productive of most abundant harvests through a long succession of years, without the smallest application of manure of any description whatever, or the soil being suffered to lie at rest, during the shortest intervening period, in a fallow state; and yet yielding, notwithstanding, from seventy-five to eighty bushels per acre. It is acknowledged as a general rule in Canada, that ten quarters of wheat are annually produced for every inhabitant of this prolific soil—a fact indisputably authenticated on the authority of official returns.

Where does Nature exhibit her fair proportions in greater variety of the sublime and beautiful: from the majestic grandeur of the lofty mountain and giant forest, down to the charming tranquillity and verdant undulations of our loveliest English scenery? Where is there such profuse diversity of wood and water?—where more luxuriant meadow lands and flowery valleys? Here ancient forests shelter stags, elks, bears, and other noblest beasts of chase; and *prairies* of the richest herbage, expanded over thousands of miles, nourish innumerable herds of roving cattle; while the domestic animals of the civilized districts, thriving in the healthiest state, attain the finest growth. Birds of every species, from the majestic eagle to the minute humming bird,

abound in these regions ; and every fruit and tree natural to Europe : and many more peculiar to themselves, flourish in the fullest perfection throughout the Canadas—the first abundantly contributing to the humblest tables—the second enough to supply the joiners' workshops, and the dockyards of Europe for thousands of years. What, if the lakes and rivers of the Canadas are subjected in winter to frosts of such intensity that the ice is capable of resisting the most crushing force—when this very liability furnishes secure and ample means for speedy transport, and assists a busy traffic in merchandise and goods of ponderous bulk, conveyed in ice-boats and enormous vehicles propelled on iron keels, while amongst them is seen the light and showy sledge of the flying traveller ? But what of this questionable evil : this *terrible* effect of season, if the average of customary labour attributed to man's working power in Canada is calculated to clear upwards of five acres of land during the winter months ? What more could it accomplish in England ? If such proven practice is common in Canada, how can we deem winter there a time of slumber and paralysis ? What judgment is there in depreciating a territory which, in addition to every nutritive grain and potable herb common to us, and the most southern countries of Europe, yields ten and a half bushels of wheat for every denizen of its soil ? How can we in reason, then, impugn a temperature beneath which such vast variety of vegetation runs to the richest exuberance, and which so numerous and diversely abounds with animal life ? If the winters were so inhospitable, would Nature, in her wild state in this country, afford a choice resort for so many delicate creatures ? Or, even admitting that the Upper Canadas are susceptible of partial impediments to public traffic,

by the excess of winter frosts and snows, is the obstruction equal to the total cessation of all out-door employment and external intercommunication, during the five months of the rainy season; which annually floods the neighbouring countries of California? choice land to which so many settlers are directing their steps, and where periodical inundations are habitually attended by all the family of fearful disorders incidental to damp and malignant vapours? The railroad with its snow-plough can defy the deepest falls of "Winter's feathered fleece;" and even the pedestrian with the snow-shoe can traverse countries under the profoundest drifts; while the sledge, besides its celerity on beaten roads, can skim the surface of lakes and rivers when their banks are fathom deep in snow, and boats lie immoveably ice-bound; but a country partially submerged by the irruption of its waters, swelling and fluctuating under continuous descents of torrent rain, must suspend all intercourse, and baffle the most potent devices of human ingenuity; yet such is the form of Earth's refreshment which Nature substitutes for snow in climates preferred to Canada!

But to the point—in a land so plentiful, and inviting as are many of our North American possessions, her Majesty's Government holds discretionary power over tracts upon tracts of fertile country destined yet to become the seats of flourishing States, which are now totally abandoned, to return their fruits untasted to the earth, and scatter their ungarnered seeds to the winds: lands which are resigned to the savage and beast of prey; while millions of British born, without one foot of all the earth they can call their own, must depend for a grudging and scanty pittance on the taxed industry of others. Yet this productive refuge has not its site in the remote

circles of antipodean latitudes, but actually lies even now within ten days of England, where so recently the voyager often consumed a fortnight between London and Edinburgh. This land of promised relief, from its Atlantic to its Pacific shores—say, from Halifax to New Georgia Gulf—is about 2,800 miles in breadth, the measurement with which at present we have alone to deal ; since it is only with a narrow stripe extending across these our own American possessions, from side to side, we have to interest ourselves in the task of forming a second England of Canada ; thereby to restore the ailing and weakened parent to renovated health and re-assured longevity. Yes, we repeat, we have only to convert our American provinces into a bridge betwixt Europe and Asia : a straight high-road thoroughfare from Great Britain to North China, to attain this national redemption ; for it is not an indispensable condition in the project, that Canada should be peopled in preliminary to any great extent ; nor pass through intermediate stages of slow progression incidental to the rise of other nations ; with whom it has been necessary that centuries should elapse before towns and cities, supported by mutual wants and connexion, could creep into gradual and successive existence. At the very first step taken to construct a grand railway from Halifax to the Pacific, the Canadas would outstrip all the intervening stages of national growth, and spring at once, *per saltum*, into importance, population, and power, without waiting, in expectant dependence, for the development of their internal resources : for the architects of this Canadian grandeur would carry with them hence all the best-known practised and approved materials to accomplish this precocious maturity—capital, science, experience, protective

fleets, and co-operative establishments. The measurement across the Canadian territories, we again observe, is about 2,800 miles, by a line directly drawn from Halifax to the gulf of New Georgia, both of which maritime extremities seem especially designed by their peculiar position, and similar configuration as pendants to each other, for the promotion of this terraqueous train of communication of England with North East Asia athwart the bosom of Canada; while, as if to "point the way that we should go," even in the absence of railroad inventions, the noble St. Lawrence and a chain of inland seas, reaching from the mouth of this river to Fort William, situated on the north-west extreme of Lake Superior, present means of curtailing the land-carriage of the line of one-third the distance. From other central seas, lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, issues a navigable river, still running westward to the extent of 800 miles; and which merges into other waters, all trending to the Pacific; thus supplying an auxiliary aid of navigation, parallel with our line to an extent of more than three-fourths of the distance. While, in favour of an entire land route, the major part of that which we propose would run through *prairie* tracts of level ground, occasionally diversified with clumps of the finest timber, and rich in other materials necessary to the construction of railroads, such as lime, stone, brick-clay, coal, iron, &c. The whole extent being relieved by innumerable intersecting rivers admirably adapted for the sites of intermediate stations.

It is, however, true that at 2,300 miles from the Atlantic, and about 400 miles from the Pacific, the range of highlands known under the name of the "Rocky Mountains," would present a serious barrier

indeed, were not the chain broken by occasional ravines, which should offer a varied choice of passage ; while we know that science, improved by daily practice of railroad ascensions, can fortunately overcome far, far greater obstacles than these. But, without stopping here to discuss with those who have already argued, the expediency of selecting any particular one of those mountain passes in preference to some other, or the superior advantages of such and such a line running through *this* precise locality rather than through *that*: here to catch some calculated benefit, there to eschew some alleged objection: nor stopping to inquire whether the trunk-line of such a railroad should diverge from a straight course in favour of certain cities, or only communicate with these by collateral branches ; we will here confine ourselves to the plain problem of a road projected from Halifax to Vancouver's Land, 'as straight as the nature of the country could render it practicable ; and dividing this girder line into seven sections, we will at once proceed to define them as follows :—

	Miles.
No. 1, or the Atlantic division, running from Halifax to Quebec	400
2, the Quebec division, from Quebec to Tamiscaming Lake	400
3, the Lake division, from Tamiscaming to Lake St. Anne	400
4, the Central division, from Lake St. Anne to Fort Garry	400
5, the Prairie division, from Fort Garry to Saskatchewan River (elbow)	400
6, the Mountain division, from Saskatchewan across the Rocky Mountains, by the Devil's Nose to Upper Arrow Lake	400
7, the Pacific division, from Arrow Lake to New Georgia Gulf	400
Total length	2,800

On the Atlantic side, the line leads through the centre of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—provinces which,

although begirt with water, and exposed to the north-easters of the Atlantic on the one side, and blasts from Labrador on the other, have been egregiously belied by the general geographer as the veriest refuse lands: the eternal abode of cheerless fogs and chilling humidity. Happily for the truth, the necessity for a railroad through these territories to Quebec, imperatively demanded for military and commercial exigencies, has at last led to the satisfactory vindication of the climate and soil of these long-neglected provinces: for the necessity of a grand railroad traversing their centre from the Atlantic to Quebec being recognized and acknowledged (albeit in the eleventh hour) by our Home and Colonial Governments, a thorough and complete survey of the whole line of territory has been recently effected; and the admirable report returned by the able and distinguished officer charged with the important mission most fully attests the perfect facility with which this desirable route may be conducted throughout its whole extent, unobstructed by the interposition of any material impediment of acclivity, water, morass, or exposure to suspension of traffic, by the rude assaults of winter, whose reign throughout this sectional department is more severely felt than in all the other sections into which the line is proposed to be divided. For the climate of this country, like that of every other, naturally becomes milder in proportion as the land recedes from the sea. Selecting this primary portion of the route, however, as a test of the whole consecutive track, let us refer to the testimony of Lord Lincoln, enunciated in his place in Parliament, and reported in the *Times* of June 2, 1848, from which we give the following extract:—

“But my attention has been directed more particularly

to the most interesting of all our colonies—with reference to which nearly all plans of emigration yet proposed have been drawn up—the British North American possessions. They are much the nearest to our own shores, and of course the passage is by far the cheapest ; there is there, what there is not in any of the other colonies I have referred to, abundance of food, waiting for the mouths sent to consume it.” “The wages in Canada are 2s. 6d. currency a-day, with lodgings found for the labourers. Such is the information I have received on that point. I may now briefly allude to the various plans which have been at various times laid before this house.”

His lordship then detailed the several plans of Mr. E. G. Wakefield, of Mr. C. Buller, of Mr. Sullivan, of Mr. Godley, and of the noble Earl at the head of the Colonial Department, and continued :—

“I mention these schemes, not with the view of advocating or depreciating any of them.” “It must be within the knowledge of the honourable secretary for the colonies, and, notwithstanding the pressure of other affairs, within that of the noble lord at the head of Government, that a project has existed for some time for constructing a railroad from Halifax to Quebec. That road commences at Halifax, passes through the centre of the province of Nova Scotia, and the centre of New Brunswick. There is this broad distinction betwixt New Brunswick and Canada—there exists in the former a tract of 10,000,000 acres of fertile land, now in the possession of the Government. This road passes through that land, intersects a portion of Lower Canada, to a point on the St. Lawrence (Riviere du Loup), and thence to Quebec. I hope I am not departing from my

object in alluding to this line of road, but it bears materially on the question. It appears to me that this railroad may not only be made of great importance to the colonists, but an object of great national interest both in a military, a commercial, and every other point of view. As to the commercial considerations, everybody is aware how circuitous is the navigation from England to Quebec by the St. Lawrence; and it is also a most dangerous one. On the coast and in the vicinity of Cape Breton, there are constant shipwrecks; and anything that rendered the route safer would benefit the commercial interests both of this country and the colonies. As to its military importance, the road runs nearly parallel with a portion of the boundary settled by the Ashburton treaty. In consequence of that settlement, military posts have been established; and, if a railroad is not made, a military road will have to be constructed. *In that country a railroad may be formed at little cost; the land may be had for nothing; and at any rate the sleepers of the line can be got for the taking down, and the cuttings can be made at a very cheap rate.* If it should be in the contemplation of Government, after an investigation of this scheme, to sanction it, I cannot help thinking an early decision, by which the proceedings of the railway may be facilitated, should be given."

We have now to cite an extract from a speech of Lord Grey, delivered also in Parliament, and reported in the *Times* of June 5, 1848:—

"He (Lord Grey) confessed he had a great anxiety to see the railroad system carried to the greatest extent in America. There was one projected undertaking of that kind which he thought of the greatest national importance: it was one projected to run from Quebec to

Halifax. He could not conceive any thing more important than the establishment of a communication by which they might have access from Canada to one of the nearest colonial ports to this country in all seasons of the year; and at the same time, of course, equally of easy access from Halifax to Canada. This he believed to be an object of the very highest national importance. In the construction of such a railroad, there was no doubt a great extent of land which might be made available, but which was at the present to a great extent *inaccessible*. If the shrewd and practical good sense of the Americans had been applied to the construction of this railroad, adapting it to the circumstances of the country, and leaving it to future times to be completed, according to the more expensive designs and similar undertakings in this country—if the colonial Legislature would pursue that policy, as he trusted they would—his conviction was that that railroad might be effected at a cost that would be covered by the increased value which it would confer on the land through which it ran. No man was more anxious than himself that that work should go forward. His noble friend, the Governor-General of Canada (Lord Elgin), was equally impressed with the same opinion, that it was a work most desirable to be accomplished. Before his departure, he (Lord Grey) had frequent conversations with his noble friend on that subject," &c. &c.

We have now to submit an extract of the Report of Lord Durham, her Majesty's High Commissioner, and Governor-General of British North America, in 1849:—

"These interests are indeed of great magnitude; and on the course which your Majesty and your Parliament may adopt, with respect to the North American

Colonies, will depend the future destinies of not only the million and a half of your Majesty's subjects who at present inhabit these provinces, but of that vast population which those ample and fertile territories are fit, and destined hereafter, to support. No portion of the American continent possesses greater natural resources for the maintenance of large and flourishing communities. An almost boundless range of the richest soil still remains unsettled, and may be rendered available for the purpose of agriculture. The wealth of the inexhaustible forests of the best timber of America, and of extensive regions of the most valuable minerals, have as yet been but scarcely touched, along the whole line of sea-coast around each island; and in every river are to be found the greatest and richest fisheries in the world: the best fuel and the most abundant water-power are available for the coarser manufactures, for which an easy and certain market will be found. Trade with other continents is favoured by the possession of a large number of safe and spacious harbours: long, deep, and numerous rivers, and vast inland seas, supply the means of easy intercourse; and the structure of the country generally affords the utmost facility for every species of communication by land: unbounded materials of agricultural, commercial and manufacturing industry are there. It depends upon the present decision of the Imperial Legislature to determine for whose benefit they are to be rendered available. The country which has founded and maintained these colonies, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, may justly expect its compensation in turning their unappropriated resources to the account of its own redundant population. They are the rightful patrimony of the English people—the ample appanage

which God and Nature have set aside in the New World, for those whose lot has assigned them but insufficient portions in the Old." "And if, for great political objects, it ever become necessary or advisable to unite all the British provinces under one Legislative Government, then there will be found on this side of the Atlantic one powerful British State which, supported by the imperial power of the mother country, *may bid defiance to all the United States of America*. The means to the end—the first great step to its accomplishment—is the construction of the Halifax and Quebec railway."

We have now to direct public attention to extracts from the report of the commissioners appointed by her Majesty to survey the country for the formation of a railway from Halifax to Quebec, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty, and which fully substantiate, beyond all shadow of pretence for further doubt, the many attractive features which the aspect of these provinces presents in invitation to the establishment of immediate settlements:—

"Of the climate, soil and capabilities of New Brunswick it is impossible to speak too highly. There is not a country in the world so beautifully wooded and watered. An inspection of the map will show that there is scarce a section of it without its streams, from the running brook up to the navigable river. Two-thirds of its boundary are washed by the sea; the remainder is embraced by the large rivers, the St. John and Restigouche. For beauty and richness of scenery this latter river, and its branches, are not surpassed by anything in Great Britain. Its lakes are numerous, and most beautiful; its surface is undulating, hill and dale varying up to mountain and valley. It is everywhere, except

a few peaks of the highest mountains, covered with a dense forest of the finest growth. The country can everywhere be penetrated by its streams. In some parts of its interior, for a postage of three or four miles, a canoe can float away either to the Bay of Chaleurs, or the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or down to St. John's in the Bay of Fundy. Its agricultural capabilities, its climate, &c., are described in Bouchette's 'Works' and in Martin's 'British Colonies.' The country is by them, and deservedly so, highly praised. For any great plan of emigration or colonization, there is not another British colony which presents such a favourable field for the trial as New Brunswick. To 17,000,000 of productive acres there are only 208,000 inhabitants; of these 16,000,000 acres are still public property. On the surface is an abundant stock of the finest timber, which in the markets of England realize large sums annually, and afford an unlimited supply of fuel to the settlers. If these should ever become exhausted there are the coal-fields underneath. The rivers, lakes, and sea-coasts, abound with fish. Along the Bay of Chaleurs, it is so abundant that the land smells of it: it is used as manure; and while the olfactory senses of the traveller are afforded by it on the land, he sees out at sea immense shoals darkening the surface of the water. For about the same expense, FIVE emigrants could be landed in New Brunswick for ONE in the Antipodes." . . . "The proposed railway would be such a work as would engage thousands in its immediate construction; while the stimulus and new spirit it would infuse into the whole community, now cribbed and confined as it were to their own locations, would give rise to branches and other works which would employ additional thousands."

It only remains for us now to sum up the testimonials in favour of this first or Atlantic division of the proposed line, by transcribing the following public announcement :—

“ The Governments of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Lower Canada, have passed resolutions to grant to such Company as shall undertake the formation of the railway, an annual payment of £60,000 for twenty years, towards the interest of the capital to be expended. They have also agreed to make over to trustees, or commissioners, Government lands to the breadth of ten miles, right and left of the railway, and to the extent of about 370 miles along the line, amounting to 4,800,000 acres, which land may be fairly valued at an average of 10s. per acre, so soon as the road is completed.” It is further added :—

“ The advantages of such a railway are incalculable ; it will at least raise the value of the land in its vicinity to at least 20s. per acre. It will enable the settlers to form local roads to and from the different stations. It will command the larger portion of the passenger traffic from the Canadas, and even part of that of the United States to Europe. It will render more profitable the fine timber by facilitating the transport of saw-mills, and other machinery to the heart of the forests ; thereby saving the heavy expense of conveying the rough trees to the shipping port. It will also command the conveyance of a large portion of goods, and agricultural produce, both to and from the Canadas, especially for the five winter months, during which period they are excluded at present from all communication, owing to the stoppage of navigation by the frost ; further the transport of the troops, and of the mails, will be insured to it ; and

lastly, as it will commence at Halifax, the port nearest to Great Britain, it will form the great trunk-line towards which the numerous local rails now made, and in progress throughout the Canadas, will converge."

It has been recommended by *high authority*, "*that the rails throughout the line should be made of wood, after the manner of those now in use in the United States, where they are found to be admirably adapted for the purpose, at a cost of less than one-third of those in England, while it will thus afford employment to a great number of hands, LABOUR being the principal expense attached to its construction.*" Thus, the objections which would formerly have been provoked by the first allusion to this, the most questionable portion of the route, are for ever extinguished; and the grand line, as a speculation *in prospectu*, considerably abridged, since whether the whole be ever accomplished or not, this section of its length is irrevocably assured; and thus, upwards of the first 400 miles of the undertaking are in a manner disposed of.

We have now to direct attention to the second and third divisions of the undertaking—that is, from the capital of Lower Canada westward to Lake Tamiscaming, called the "Quebec division;" extending thence to Lake St. Anne, called the "Lake division." From Quebec to the west end of Lake Superior, at the expense of some inconvenient diversion, perhaps, and consequent delay, we have inland navigation on the grandest scale to the extent of eight hundred miles westward; by which the immediate necessity of a parallel route by railway may be superseded for a time at least,—thus curtailing the distance to the amount in all, including the Halifax railway, or the St. Lawrence navigation, of from 1,200 to

1,400 miles. But lest the completion of the whole line of railway at once be preferred, we will continue the task of expositors, and conduct the reader forward through the proposed sections of the second and third divisions—that is, from Quebec to Tamiscaming, and from Tamiscaming to Lake St. Anne, which comprise each a distance of 400 miles.

This is a tract of country which, to the disgrace of England and Canada, remains a *terra incognita* till this very hour, no proper survey, or even regular exploration, having been ever instituted in a country of so much mystery and interest. Nor have we any other information on the subject of these neglected territories than the vague accounts extracted from the unwilling testimony of its Indian inhabitants occasionally visiting our more civilized settlements; or very imperfect notions gleaned from the loose reports of adventurous *voyageurs* or stray hunters, who have been generally too much engrossed in the active and earnest nature of their personal pursuits to detach their thoughts to general or minute considerations of the country, even did their judgment capacitate them to offer respectable opinions.

The map, however, exhibits this region as a magnificent belt of land stretching between prodigious inland seas, abounding with lakes and rivers in almost countless numbers, which pour their respective waters north and south into the mighty basins, where vigilant Commerce, all expectant and prepared, bids fair to turn them all to profitable account in the impending concourse of traffic about to extend over the whole surface of the Hudson's Bay country and the Canadian lakes.

Here and there the English names of lonely and sequestered log-forts, hunting stations of the Bay Com-

pany, thinly interspersed among the unpronounceable names of Indian appliance to locality, too significantly show "that *gain* steps in where *science* fears to tread;" and that certain shrewd parties, awake while the nation slumbers, take cunning advantage of our ignorance and neglect, to swallow a whole region for their own private picking—nay, they almost obliterate it from the map, and damn it to all the purposes of civilized population, agriculture, and commerce, in order to maintain it as a snug preserve—" *en cache*," as Canadian hunters would call it—for traffic with the wild man, in *fire-water* against *peltries*! But if we are to judge of these countries by the products of nature, starting into gradual visibility up to their very frontiers, east, south, and west, what wealth have we not yet to anticipate from the discoveries of the botanist, the mineralogist, and the trader?

Among other imperfect attempts to take cognizance of these abandoned portions of our British possessions, an exploring expedition was directed to penetrate into the Nepissing country by Sir John Colborne, some ten years ago or more. The parties were conducted by an officer of the navy, a captain of engineers named Baddiley, a surveyor, and their suite. They started from Lake Simcoe, and penetrated to the south-east banks of the Nepissing Lake; having traversed more than two degrees of latitude, through countries the greatest part of which had until then remained untrodden by European foot. Their plan was thence to diverge from their northern course of direction in excursive circuits east and west, till a large portion of the Chippewa hunting grounds in these districts were surveyed; and the elements of a more perfect map were laid down, of the immediate lands bearing west of the Ottawa. But owing to defective and

injudicious arrangements, neglect of preliminary plans of communications, and means of supply, the party, after extreme sufferings from privation and fatigue, were compelled to return, with accounts sadly coloured by their discomfiture. They had principally calculated upon supporting themselves by the produce of the chase; but, as they receded from the banks of the great lakes, they found a gradual diminution of game, till starvation and winter compelled them to return, with this fact peeping out of their report, that they had met with excellent land, despite the desolating memories always associated with fatigue and hunger.

Since then, however, settlements have been gradually creeping in upon this central preserve; while vast deposits of iron have been discovered on its leading river, the Ottawa, which no doubt will be traced, upon investigation, to be distributed in connexion with others stretching westward to its source. Some of the richest copper in the world has been long found abundant upon the shores of Lake Superior, the deposits of which most probably extend likewise far into the centre: much of this is argentiferous, and companies are said to be now working it; whilst the finest forest trees of all Canada are found in such inexhaustible quantity on the banks of the same lake, by which, together with the minerals both discovered and supposed to exist, these districts have gained the name of the "Denmark of America." Here oak of the finest quality is found, which, although not so durable perhaps as that of British growth is still admirably adapted for ship-building, usually measuring from fifty feet in length upwards by two feet six inches;—prodigious poplars, immense and graceful weeping elms, walnut-trees of gigantic dimen-

sions, beautiful birch, and wild cherry, large enough to compose the bulkiest objects of household furniture; hiccory, hazel, ironwood, magnificent fir and pines, so stupendous that they lift their heads, as it were, among the clouds, with trunks so vast that they require fathoms of line to span them. Yet all these are so numerous and uncared for, that predatory gangs of roving lumberers level them at discretion; and float them down the lakes and rivers, collected into those vast rafts that so much astonish European spectators, when they first visit the banks of the St. Lawrence. These superb timbers may be considered as the mere outskirt samples of the internal treasures nursing by nature for European use; and which now await the English axe in the tract which constitutes the second and third divisions of our proposed railroad line.

The abandonment and neglect of this portion of our North American territory has seemingly arisen from no well-founded reason created by the aspect of the country, or doubt of its resources, but because of its distance from both oceans; together with the extensive navigation of the Grand Lakes, whose obvious advantages have naturally attracted settlers to prefer location upon their banks or in their immediate vicinity. Guided by our knowledge of these facts, we are fully warranted in stating that this very *terra incognita* might yet prove the richest portion of the whole line between Halifax and the Pacific. Or allowing that the part of the railroad which should run through these second and third divisions should be postponed, till the proceeds arising from the traffic of the eastern and western portions of the works should supply means for completing its centre; or granting that speed might be

disregarded at this point, and thus the idea of connecting both extremities of the line, by a central junction in the heart of the countries which lie behind the north banks of the Superior, were to be abandoned altogether,—what are, indeed, the facilities which the grand lakes substitute for such relinquishment? There is now, through the medium of the Welland Canal, a continuous navigation, carried over river and lake, through a distance of more than eight hundred miles; and very little now remains to be completed of the connecting intermediate distance to open an entire and unobstructed passage for general shipping from our British capital to the highest point of Lake Superior, embracing an inland voyage on fresh water of upwards of two thousand miles. As it is, the Ontario has long been covered with magnificent British steamers; while the Huron, which has too long exhibited something like an American monopoly of its navigation, is beginning to admit the influx of British competition; and our own steam communication gradually increasing upon its bosom, should induce confident hope that we shall ere long see a preponderating amount of British prows rippling the broad expanse of the Superior.

A lively writer, referring to the commercial advantages afforded by these lakes, recently informed us that the Topographical Board of Washington, so long ago as 1843, estimated the value of commercial capital afloat upon the four lakes, at no less than sixteen millions two hundred thousand pounds. That the returns made of American and foreign vessels at Chigago, from the 1st of April till the 1st of November, in the same year, showed that there arrived one hundred and fifty-one steamers, eighty propellers, ten brigs, one hundred and forty-two schooners, with smaller craft—total, one

thousand and sixty-eight lake-going vessels, and a like number of departures; not including such small craft as are engaged in the carrying of wood, staves, ashes, &c.; and yet such was the glut of wheat, at the same time, that at the latter date three hundred thousand bushels remained unshipped! He informs us that it is not at all uncommon to see three-masted vessels on Lake Ontario; and that one alone, in November preceding the date of his publication, conveyed fifteen thousand barrels of flour to Kingston, while another was even then about to try the experiment of sailing from Toronto to the West Indies and back. He further observes that the American topographical engineers, as well as our own civil engineers and savans, having accurately measured the heights and levels of the lakes, concur in favouring an idea, which certainly seems by no means visionary—namely, that the produce of Spanish America and the West Indies may ultimately be conveyed from the Mexican Gulf into the heart of the United States, and our Canadas, by means of the Mississippi, and the rivers which connect it with the Great Lakes; and that a vessel loading at Cuba might thus perform an inland circuit of many thousand miles, and return to its West Indian port by way of Quebec. From the Gulf of Mexico to the lowest summit of the ridge, which separates the basin of the Mississippi from that of the St. Lawrence, or Great Lakes, the rise does not exceed six hundred feet; and the gradation of the land has an average of not more than six inches to the mile, in an almost continuous inclined plane of six thousand miles—a circumstance which American shrewdness has been vigilantly careful not to overlook; for, profiting by this favourable disposition of nature, it has long ago improved

upon the hint to establish a current connexion between the Mississippi and the Grand Lakes, by which trade and prosperity are rapidly disseminating through the back settlements of the United States.

Yet, with all this inspiring spectacle before our eyes, we have not only delayed to prosecute the advantages which the example offers to the Canadian provinces and ourselves, but have actually been dreaming of delivering up this magnificent ground of commercial promise to the exclusive cultivation of our American competitors ! But whether or not, in the correction of our mistake, we enrich the land with the fresh means of intersocial communication, and mercantile transport through the additional medium of a railroad, traversing these territories in the very direction in which those lakes extend in length, still, relinquishing the greater success which might attend the direct working of such land carriage by rail, what a glorious accessory would not this water passage prove ; and how widely would not the opportune position of these waters assist to distribute the confluent wealth of the line over the whole face of the North American continent : their mutual and correspondent traffic protected, and promoted by Quebec as an entrepôt at one extreme, and Fort William, on Lake Superior, at the other ?

We now come to the fourth, or "Central Division" of the line, viz.—that from St. Anne's Lake, near Lake Superior, to Fort Garry, on the Red River, where the lake navigation and the railroad traffic would meet at the head of Lake Superior ; and as the land route from Quebec to the middle terminus might, *pro tempore*, be postponed in favour of transit by the lakes, we must, whether or not, still fix this spot as a new point of departure, since such facile and commodious access to it

by water would tend to render it, in a manner, independent of the other works simultaneously progressing along the line. Or even, were we to discard altogether from our plan the expediency of a railroad connexion betwixt Quebec and Lake St. Anne, the project would yet be imperative both in interest and policy; since the Lakes and the St. Lawrence would still afford a great acceleration of transport between the Atlantic and Pacific, by the steam navigation at present on them; albeit annually subject to a period of frozen paralysis; which, nevertheless, would still maintain the ports of Fundy Bay, and the New Georgia Gulf, in singular activity even during winter, as receptacles of merchandise, and stores, deposited for transmission across the continent at the first break of spring. But if, on the other hand, this, and the Atlantic Division (No. 1), were completed to Quebec, the circuitous passage of the St. Lawrence would, as a matter of course, be avoided, and winter hindrances reduced to mere partial impediments. At all events, by whatever line, or in whatever order and direction, such railway would be constructed, at once in its entirety, or by piecemeal, the water route would still be continued to the head of Lake Superior during, and even *after*, the completion of the intervening line between that terminus and the Atlantic; and this, in the first instance, of necessity for the conveyance of labourers, provision, and material. We must, therefore, regard this locality as pre-eminent in importance, from its becoming the master-key of the Pacific communication by land.

Let us, then, examine the character of the country and climate, as they exist between Lake St. Anne and Fort Garry. Sir George Simpson, in his overland travels in 1841, thus writes:—"The country, during

our march, passed through forests of elm, oak, lime, birch, &c.; and many a spot reminded us of the rich and quiet scenery of England. The paths of numerous portages were spangled with violets and roses, and many wild flowers; while the currant and gooseberry, the raspberry and plum, the cherry, and even the vine, were abundant. All this bounty of nature was imbued, as it were, with life, by the cheerful notes of a variety of birds, and by the restless flutter of butterflies of the highest hues. One cannot pass through this fair valley without feeling it is destined to become, sooner or later, the civilized habitation of men, with their bleating flocks and lowing herds, their schools and their churches, with their full garner, and their social hearths." As he advances further he says—and we particularly invite the reader's attention to his testimony—"The country to Fort Garry is practicable for wheels as far as Fort Edmonton, about 600 miles further west; the vicinity of the latter Fort being rich in mineral productions. A seam of coal can be traced for a considerable distance on both sides the river, which though it requires a stronger draught than ordinary chimneys is literally well adapted to the forge."

Another well-informed writer, no later than last year, says it may be true that but a small portion of our North American territory may be fit for colonization, or indeed for anything but the chase; but it may be, *and is true*, that that portion, small as it may be called, is a country sufficiently large and fertile to support all the population of Great Britain, and all her dependencies. Many efforts have been made to cry down the settlement of the Red River; and frequent assertions made of the impossibility of founding a settlement in so remote and

desolate a country ; yet experience has shown that there is not a more favourable situation on the face of the earth, for the employment of agricultural industry than the locality of the Red River. As far as the produce of the soil is concerned, the settlers revel in abundance. Besides the neighbourhood of Fort Garry, which experience has shown to be productive in the extreme, there is the whole country, several hundred miles in extent, from the Red River to the frontiers of Canada, along the line of rivers and lakes which connect Lake Winnipeg with Lake Superior. It is needless (says he) to make long references to authors to support this assertion—that this is a magnificent country for colonization. As already observed, Sir George Simpson speaks in the strongest language of the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, and of the rich and varied produce of the earth in its wild and uncultivated luxuriance; and Mr. Ballantyne dwells, with correspondent laudation, on the same theme, and many, who have passed along that route, are ready to give similar evidence.

As these descriptions apply, however, only to the appearance of the country in summer, and the winter of these districts having been represented as intolerable, to set that matter definitively at rest, we beg to subjoin a brief summary of Mr. Thomas Simpson's narrative of a journey performed by him in 1886-89, from Fort Garry, to Athabasca, a distance of one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven miles further north than the settlement in question. This course was attended with considerable westing through the countries lying between the Winnipeg and Rocky Mountains ; and as he chose, with his experienced knowledge of the climate, the very depth of winter for his journey, without thereby exciting,

it would seem, any expression of surprise among the people of Fort Garry, we must necessarily suppose the winter climate of those regions to be not so adverse to travelling, as prejudices, created by the exaggeration of interested parties, have generally led us to suppose. It is natural for men contending with difficulties to magnify their gravity; first, because they pay in person, and none are so enamoured of discomfort as to make light of their exposure to its hardships. Next, it is natural and common that we should seek to enlist admiration for our triumphs of fortitude, and pity for our sufferings under inconvenience. Listen to any one who has just made a winter excursion in an open boat; or passed a rainy night on the top of a coach, even upon our roads and waters of England; and the vivid miseries which are invariably narrated in such details, should teach us how reservedly our sympathy for the hardships endured by travellers through Canada in winter should be conceded! Mr. Thomas Simpson started upon this formidable journey on the *first day of December*—a month few Englishmen are disposed to leave their homes for northern excursions. He had to traverse, as aforesaid, a distance of one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven miles in a wilderness, without roads; uncleared, undrained; and destitute of inns, post-horses, or covered shelter — “His bed the earth, his roof the cope of heaven.” Be it remarked, also, that this great journey was not merely the performance of one single person peculiarly adapted for feats of extraordinary endurance and fatigue; but that he was accompanied by a numerous train, who had to transport along with them, over flood and field: through bush and through briar: over mountain and swamp, wheeled carriages,

boats : baggage, arms, provisions, &c. ; their hardships alleviated by no prepared halts or fixed stations ; and their dubious route encountered in utter ignorance of all topographical particulars to be identified with their course.

Now, let us imagine a party of English travellers, similarly equipped, compelled to journey from London to the Pentland firth : not half the distance travelled by Mr. Thomas Simpson ; and this expedition, due north, to be attended with necessitated bivouacs under an inclement sky, exposed to every intemperance of weather common in this country from the months of December and January ; and even supposing the attempt actually proved practicable, let us ask what would be the state of their constitutions on arriving ? How many would survive ? What would be their account of particular days, and certain districts laboured over in their passage ? And how would they characterize the climate in *general* ? Just let those detractors of Canada who congratulate themselves on the superior mildness of our British temperature, bivouac in a blanket on Salisbury Plain, or Wandsworth Common, only one December night ; let them breakfast on the ground before sunrise, like our traveller Simpson ; then journey over it baggage-pace to and fro till sunset ; and, without exacting a repetition of such night's lodging in fresco, we warrant they would exhibit stronger testimony than words that the practice was not superlatively agreeable.

Commencing with a brief account of the Red River settlement, Mr. Thomas Simpson observes : — “ This country, at an elevation of eight or nine hundred feet above the level of the sea, and stretching for above fifty miles along the wooded borders of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, which flow through a level country of

vast extent, possesses a salubrious climate and fertile soil. Horses, horned-cattle, hogs, and poultry, are exceedingly numerous. Sheep have been brought by the Hudson's Bay Company at great expense from England and the United States, and are reared with success. Wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, turnips, and most of the other culinary vegetables, thrive well. Maize, peas, and beans, have not yet been extensively cultivated; but hops grow luxuriantly: orchards are as yet but little known. The banks are cultivated to the width of from a quarter to half a mile. All the back level country remains in its original state, a vast natural pasture, covered, for the greatest part of the year, with cattle; and also furnishing the inhabitants with a sufficiency of hay for the support of their herds during the winter. The length of this season exceeds five months, the rivers usually freezing in November, and opening in April, when there is a fine sturgeon fishery. Not a man, however mean or idle, in this settlement, but possesses a horse, and vies in gay carriages, harness, saddles, and fine clothes. Two-decked vessels ply on Lake Winnipeg during the summer, between the colony and entrepôt of Norway House, situated at its northern extremity, where the river navigation to Hudson's Bay commences. The inhabitants have also discovered a practicable outlet for their cattle and grain, through the fine level plains that lead to the Mississippi and the St. Peter; where there is promise of sufficient market among the Americans. Domestic manufactures, too, which ought ever to precede exportation, have at last made some progress in the shape of coarse cloths, stuffs, shawls, linen, sacking, tanned leather, &c., all which tend to diminish the annual orders from England, and to render the people independent."

Further on he informs us, that although the buffaloes are no longer captured in droves in the immediate prairies round Fort Garry, yet they still afford ample provision, and in winter are hunted in the adjacent plains, where they are shot down in hundreds *at a race*; while at the posts which immediately approximate the same settlement, the wild buffalo continue in such multitudes, that at Carlton, he says, "the buffaloes were so numerous that he there found Mr. Small removing his haystacks to the Fort to save them from being entirely devoured by their countless herds." He further observes that there were in this vicinity two camps of Assiniboine Indians, each having its buffalo pound, into which they daily drove forty or fifty of these animals: while he learned that in other places these pounds were formed of piled-up heaps of their carcasses—a circumstance by which, he further remarks, "it may be easily supposed the stores of Carlton were groaning with meat, and that there the very dogs were fed on beef-steaks." But returning to the subject of his journey northward, we will accompany him in the following summary.

On the *1st of December* he took leave of Fort Garry, north lat. 50°, west long. 97°, in order to proceed to Athabasca, distant, as before stated, 1,277 miles; setting out on horseback at first, accompanied with carts and baggage, together with a *gay carriole*, and three sledges, although he afterwards preferred "to perform his journey on foot." After winding through a country, agreeably varied with woods and plains, he reached Manitoba house, where he found the soil and climate equal to those of Red River, yielding, with excellent returns, barley, wheat, and potatoes, and the lake productive of very fine whitefish. On the 12th, having reached the portage

La Prairie, a slip of land which separates the Manitoba from the lesser Winnipeg Lake, he found the shores of this water tolerably well clothed with elm, poplar, ash, birch, and pine trees. There was still so *little snow* on the ground—(12th of December!)—that, though his tiny vehicles needed a track no more than eighteen inches wide, the sharp twigs and fallen timber damaged his carriage. The weather was *soft* and overcast. And here the industry of man (he says) may, in some future ages, convert this wilderness into a habitable land, as the climate is good, and barley, potatoes, and other vegetable produce, have been raised at several points along Swan River. On the 30th December he reached Carlton, situated on the south side of the Saskatchewan River, lat. $52^{\circ} 40' 36''$ N., where he found the ground in cultivation, and the chief factor, Mr. Pruden; justly proud of the sleek hides of the cattle and horses in his stable. On the 4th of January, having left Carlton, he entered an open country, consisting of low, round, grassy hills, interspersed with clumps of poplar, and occasionally with pines. On the 6th January, the weather continuing *mild*, he entered the boundary of the pine forest, in lat. $53^{\circ} 30'$ N., where, after passing through thick woods, he reached Otter Lake; and there, finding a fine camping place, he halted, as was usual with him, after sunset. Next morning, the 7th of January, he followed a hilly tract, which divides the waters of the Saskatchewan and Churchill rivers, about the middle of which he fell upon a *streamlet winding* through a valley with elevated woody sides, which the *mild* weather had caused to overflow in many places, to his great inconvenience. Next morning, the 8th January, he crossed six lakelets, separated from each other by

very close woods : in passing through which, the extreme darkness rendered it necessary to advance in a stooping posture, having constantly to guard his eyes from the low hanging branches. He then followed the hilly tract, &c. &c.

On the 23rd January he reached Methy Lake, where he encamped amongst trees of great size, having there ascertained the latitude to be $56^{\circ} 28' N$. He quitted, he says, these *snug* quarters at 3 A.M. of the 24th, avoiding to pass through a hilly, woody country, direct to Athabasca, preferring (he says) the deep and picturesque valley of the clear water river ; advancing, as usual, till sunset, arranging this time because the preparation of the encampment (he observes) takes more time and labour ; and is never so well done after nightfall. One of the pines here, he says, under the shelter of which he took up his night's lodgings, measured three yards in girth, at five feet from the ground. On the 1st of February, it being *the day* he had *fixed* on leaving Red River for his arrival at Chipewyan,* he was on the move at 2 A.M. The morning was windy but *not cold* ; and at 3 P.M. arrived at his destination, where he was warmly welcomed by Chief Factors Smith and Dease. Thus, he says, happily terminated a winter journey of one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven statute miles, namely,

From Fort Garry to Pelly	394 miles
Fort Pelly to Carlton	276
Carlton to Isle à la Crosse	236
Isle à la Crosse to Fort Chipewyan	371

1,277

* He could not have anticipated, either from his own knowledge, or upon inquiry, that he should meet with any obstacles either from weather or nature of the route. Nor did he, of course, encounter any of material consequence.

The itinerary, from which the foregoing abridged summary is extracted, was not, let it be particularly remarked, written with the intention of reconciling us to the lets and hindrances of this wild and northerly region, stretching so far back from the line we contemplate; but rather with the evident view of creating our interest by the hardships he had to overcome, which, of course, are emphatically enumerated; although the facility of his passage, and the solacing incidents of his journey, which escape in his narration, present indisputable facts, superior to all recapitulations of difficulty and inconvenience; and which substantially prove that man may walk or ride with as much ease and pleasure in these quarters as in England itself; that the aspect of nature there is not more repulsive than it is in our own open country in the winter season; and, in testimony of its resources, we beg to add, once more, upon his authority, that the men who accompanied him so far, and even further north, received daily rations, served out to each, of from eight to ten, and to some individuals *twelve*, pounds of venison; or, when they could be got, four or five whitefish, weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds! This quantity of solid food (he says), immoderate as it may appear, does not exceed the average standard of the country.

The reader will perceive, on examining, on the map, the situation of Fort Garry, to which we now return from the north, that there is an amphitheatric indentation of land, hemmed on both flanks by the great Winnipeg and Manipotaba Lakes, which all but encircle it in the rear; while the Assiniboine in its course to the Red River covers it with a sweeping curve in front, all rendering the spot, or oasis we might call it, a positive and

well-protected island, were it not for a *terra firma* opening through a posterior outlet, afforded by a narrow-necked passage into another detached recess, similarly environed by waters of oceanic magnificence. Only contemplate this situation with due attention, and associate immediately with it the passage of a railroad, such as is proposed; and, connected with the latter, a prospective chain of settlements and stations, which this route could not but incontinently call into existence in its progress from east to west, and *vice verâ*. Then glance at the southern countries in front of this position—provinces of a rival State, gradually filling with a population which ere long will extend from the north-west territory and Missouri country to New Albion and California. Returning again to the peculiar site in question, see its eastern band, Lake Winnipeg, extending a train of minor sheets of water to close approximation to Lake Superior, affording thereby the most facile means of an artificial junction; while sending forth noble floods in communication with Hudson's Bay on the north and north-east; and equally liberal on the west; receiving the navigable river Saskatchewan, which previously distributes its waters through hundreds of miles of prairie lands, up to the very base of the Rocky Mountains. Still unexhausted by these prodigious discharges, behold this mighty reservoir receiving the tributary streams of the south, even as far as the Mississippi, and eventually destined to convey the traffic of three thousand miles to the lap of Florida. In fine, combined with these communicating and protecting waters, which immediately embrace this *sanctum*, and the lakes on its south-east front where British war-ships float—consider the mountain chain to the west—and say if human imagination

could possibly conceive a spot more happily adapted, by so many singular and concurrent advantages, for the foundation of a capital to the State which such a railroad would immediately create in these virgin territories:—a spot so centrally disposed for commerce by land and water, and so admirably fortified by Nature's hand?

If the similarity of form and position, conspicuous in the qualities and configuration of the Bay of Fundy on the Atlantic, and New Georgia Gulf on the Pacific, in an almost straight line to each other, as if created as pendants for the express purpose, excite surprise, a coincidence not less extraordinary and striking will be found on reference to the country mapped under the correspondent longitude east, and in the same parallel of latitude north with Lake Winnipeg—namely, 51°, 100', E. There in recent deserts, exactly the antipodes of Lake Winnipeg—just as if there was a communication directly down through both beds—is situated Lake Baikal; and upon its bank the interesting and flourishing city of Irkutsk, the metropolis of the eastern Government of Asiatic Russia, which is rapidly increasing in importance and population—a city presenting an aspect of the very highest European civilization—its precincts adorned with many noble public edifices; and within its walls the site of an archbishopric: its prosperity and growth being promoted by the Government of St. Petersburg, in order to reclaim the wilds of Tartary; and extend commercial influence and relations to China, of which Irkutsk, in the contrary line of direction from the route here proposed, forms the grand intermediate Government and mart between the Celestial and Autocratic Empires—a colonial capital which is attracting

Chinese settlers by thousands; and which is gradually extending a train of mural dependencies to and beyond the very boundary of China itself.

England, accept the omen—and upon Lake Winnipeg build a city opposite to Irkutsk; and do not permit Russia silently to outstrip us in enterprize; and, with so many colonies scattered over the furthest quarters of the globe, resign to Russia the more honourable and rational task of improving the resources natural to our own common belt of latitude. Be, as you ought to be, the first to introduce the Chinese partners of our planet into the habits of international intimacy and relation with the Governments and people of Europe. Although unfavoured by the facility of passage by water, and unpossessed yet of the means of great railroad transport, Russia has not allowed either climate or distance to oppose a bar to the interests she is deliberately crowning by the encouragement of Irkutsk; for, precious as population is to her European ascendancy, she has still been most sedulous in her endeavours to detach active and intelligent settlers to this capital of her furthest Asiatic dominions. Let us, then, with so many superior means, emulate her example, and prosecute to the West the same object she is pursuing to the East; and rival her in a city which, in the opposite latitude and longitude, will, like Irkutsk, civilize a wilderness, and vie in attracting the commerce of China—a city which could not but become, under impending circumstances, the real capital of the whole North American Continent.

We have now to examine the fifth or the “Prairie Division”—that is, the portion of the route extending westward from Fort Garry to the “Elbow” of the Saskatchewan River; and, from that point, we may

include the sixth, or the "Mountain Division," in our account of that vast territory—a land which, as regards the first and the greater part of the second, all accounts concur in representing as a continuous plain, occasionally diversified by gentle undulations, free and unobstructed through all its wide compass, except where agreeably studded with picturesque groves and pleasant waters; while the face of this vast level, everywhere favourable to the action of wheel carriage (which is universally employed to traverse it), is admirably adapted to all the purposes of drainage. With the exception of Belgium, perhaps, no other country in the world displays so eligible a surface for laying down a line of rail; and, although we should naturally infer that some swampy land may lie in the immediate proximity of the mountain base, yet the many flowing waters, and more especially the Askow and Bull's-pound rivers, which pour away from the hilly range, would necessarily imply so vast an amount of natural drainage as should authorize us to expect a much drier surface than its exposure to the aqueous discharges from the heights would otherwise lead us to anticipate in ground so situate; and which must render it superior, at least in this respect, to the country exposed to the same descent further north, as described in the itinerary of Mr. Thomas Simpson: and which, nevertheless, seems to have afforded sufficient solidity of footing to interpose no obstruction to the facility of his winter march.

The considerable stretch southward, besides, of this portion of the prairies, from the remote districts described by this traveller, in exposing it, as a natural consequence, to a stronger influence of the sun, would likewise warrant the inference of its having a readier tendency to drought

in summer; and, in the winter season, to possess a milder atmospheric condition than that far rearward described in Mr. Simpson's hibernal bivouacs: while the navigable capacity of the great river Saskatchewan, rolling in correspondent direction with our line in project, would seem to beckon with inviting promise of extraordinary aid in this department of the enterprize; and the plentiful supply of constructive material, as the natural product of the lower mountain acclivities, would be certain also to secure ample means of overcoming whatever impediment any soft ground might present in the vicinity. From Lake Superior to the Mountains, then, we imperatively assert that Nature, by all her means of earth, air, and water, has marked this tract of land, as one which the presiding genius of human prosperity has expressly till now reserved for the predestined scene of the greatest traffic which the world, with all its commercial records, has ever yet known; and that this vast plain will one day become the general rendezvous of all the trading nations upon earth.

To resume our account of the "Prairie Division," from Fort Garry to the elbow of the Saskatchewan, and from thence westward, we must again point out, in the words of former explorers: reiterated very lately by an intelligent author and traveller: that this vast country is a broad belt stretching in a north westerly direction to the Rocky Mountains. "It is a country of varied features: immense plains, hills, lakes, and woods, are chequered over its surface, abounding with every animal and fish which contribute to the support of man in his savage state; and which, therefore, render the advancement of civilized man into the wilderness a matter comparatively neither of difficulty nor of expense." Here

then is a country, above 500,000 square miles in extent, a great part of which is favourable for settlement and agriculture, and nearly the whole of which is so well supplied with game as to enable the first advancement of colonies to be readily effected. The Saskatchewan river, winding through these prairies, is navigable for boats and canoes, almost from its source in the Rocky Mountains, through a course of 1,400 miles to the mouth, where it discharges itself into Lake Winnipeg. There is, it appears, but *one* rapid throughout the whole course, and that could readily be overcome. In the Rocky Mountains, the sources of the Saskatchewan on the one side, and of the Columbia on the other, are so close together, that Sir George Simpson could fill his kettle for breakfast out of both at the same time: he says they are not fifteen feet apart. "It cannot then (says our author) but be obvious to all that there is a vast object to be gained by opening up the interior of the American Continent, and securing as soon as possible an overland communication with the Pacific Ocean."

We have now to consider the Sixth Division of the project, which includes the "Mountain" section, extending from the "elbow" of the Saskatchewan to the west of the Rocky Mountains. The description of this division corresponds exactly with that already set forth in our progress westward from Fort Garry, until we arrive at the Rocky Mountains; and it is therefore necessary for us only to confine ourselves to this *supposed* barrier. The "Mountain District," of course, constitutes the principal bugbear in the whole train of anticipated difficulties, which may probably awe the feeble-minded back from the prosecution, even in idea, of so formidable a project as ours; and we are not prepared by any positive

data, collected from particular minutes made during a regular survey, to dissipate the doubts which the unenterprising and faint-hearted may entertain of the possibility of vanquishing this impediment in our otherwise unimpeded course. These mountains, however, throughout their extended chain, have been penetrated at various points, even under the most adverse circumstances, by adventurous explorers, accompanied with numerous trains and baggage; whose successful passage, in absence of experienced guides or known tracks—whilst destitute of all the ordinary means of comfort, provision, and accommodation, procurable and expected by the poorest wanderers in civilized and peopled countries—prove not only the facile practicability of these passes, were they but properly improved by the customary means applied to travelled roads; but the very triumph of these efforts, ever and anon published by these explorers, would be no less arduous were they exerted to drag after them a dependent party, encumbered with beasts and baggage, through an unpeopled wild, even were it but moderately level, and blessed with perpetual summer. Yet, we repeat, that the very fact of their uniform success belies their accounts of the terrible and insurmountable difficulties these explorers of deserts would seem alone to have fortitude and vigour to overcome. But, surely, that which travellers frequently accomplish on the bare lines of the Rocky Mountains, deprived of shelter and supplies, would necessarily be feats of comparative ease to wayfarers duly accommodated with well-frequented roads, established conveyance, and roadside entertainment; and even admitting that these lines of hills should present the greatest difficulties with which modern science has yet had to contend, why should they constitute the

grand obstacle and interdictory boundary where engineering skill and enterprize must hang their heads and stop?

The passes of these mountains further south, which excited so much wonder and admiration a few years ago (1843) in favour of the American explorer, Captain Fremont, is now performed in daily journies by hundreds of ordinary adventurers—men, women, and children, *on the tramp*—who traverse the “Rocky Chain” with perfect ease on their way to the western side—now the famous land of California! A similar concourse, even should a railroad not be projected across our section of the hilly land, will, no doubt, ere long be seen threading the mountain passes within our boundary, and subjected to no more difficulties or obstructions than are opposed to the excursions of other travellers more to the south.

Now, a simple incident, accidentally related by Captain Fremont, without that traveller dreaming of the inference to be deduced from his statement, tells not only in a very depreciatory degree against the magnitude of his own mountain exploits, but actually dispels at a breath all that phantasmagoria of imaginary superhuman endurance and false terror which the fanciful inflations of ordinary travellers have insinuated into the general mind in association with those mountain passes. The interesting and truly intelligent writer to whom we have just referred informs us, in the history of his journey through the southern pass, that being on the Columbia River in 1844, November 15—(*mark the date*)—“About noon, two barges of the express *from Montreal* arrived at the upper portage landing, which for large boats is on the right bank of the river. They were a fine looking crew, and among them I remarked (he says)

a fresh-looking woman and her daughter, emigrants from Canada: they had arrived at noon, and in the evening they expected to reach Vancouver. These bateaux carry the express of the Hudson's Bay Company to the highest navigable point of the north fork of the Columbia, whence it is carried by an overland party to Lake Winnipeg, at which place the mail is kept up between these very remote points. It was satisfactory (he says) to see the order and speed with which these experienced boatmen effected the portage, and passed the boats over the cascades. The Canadian emigrants were much chagrined at the change of the climate, and informed him that only a few miles above—viz., the Rocky Mountain heights—‘they had left a country of bright blue sky and a shining sun.’”

The reader will observe that the two women descending from the northern pass, and who traversed it at a season when our own mountains of Wales or Derbyshire would be deemed too severely trying for the constitution of females so exposed, were so far from exhibiting signs of hardship and fatigue, that their fresh looks attracted the attention of the traveller; while the crew were so little affected by their passage through these rocky regions, that their spirit and alacrity were admired even by the active and intrepid Fremont himself. The superior mildness of the mountain summits, too, in the month of November, which these women lamented to have left, implies no great speed in the approach of winter in these altitudes, however rigorously it may reign during the period of its sojourn; and the additional testimony borne by Captain Fremont of the verdure proper to even these lofty lands should speak as strongly in favour of their habitable tenability as their bright blue skies, and

sunshine, in the month of November. The extract, besides, which we have next to submit presents, at the same time, a descriptive illustration of our seventh or Pacific Division :—

“I can only say in general and comparative terms—(remarks Captain Fremont, in speaking of the Oregon)—that in that branch of agriculture which implies the cultivation of grains, and staple crops, it would be inferior to the Atlantic States, though many parts are *superior for wheat*; while, in the rearing of flocks and herds, it would claim a high place. Its grazing capabilities are great, and even in the indigenous grass are the elements of individual and natural wealth to be found. In fact, the valuable grasses begin within a hundred and fifty miles of the Missouri frontier, and extend to the Pacific Ocean west of the Rocky Mountains. It is the short curly grass on which the buffalo delight to feed—(whence its name of ‘buffalo’)—and which is still good when dry and apparently dead. West of those mountains it is of large growth in clusters, and hence called ‘bunch grass;’ and which has a second, or ‘fall’ growth. Plains and *mountains* both exhibit them, and I have seen good pasturage at an *elevation of ten thousand feet*. In this spontaneous product the trading or travelling caravans can find subsistence for their animals; and in military operations any number of cavalry may be moved, and any number of cattle may be driven; and thus men and horses be supported on long expeditions, and this even in winter in sheltered situations.”

Having thus conducted our readers over the sixth division of the line, including the “Mountain” section, in corroboration of the statements of Captain Fremont,

we have now to add that Sir George Simpson made a diverging journey of nearly 2,000 miles in forty-seven days from the Red River, *via* Fort Edmonton, to Fort Colville, in 1841. He crossed the Rocky Mountains at the confluence of the Saskatchewan and Columbia, near Fort Kotanie, at an elevation of 8,000 feet above the sea, with mountains rising about *half* that altitude around. Why Sir George ascended to the height of 8,000 feet, when he could have passed at half that altitude, or even at a *third* of it, may be accounted for on other grounds than any that we at present know ; but we infinitely regret that instead of astonishing us at the feat, with the customary ambition of wonder-striking travellers he did not rather prefer to spare the devious footsteps of succeeding pilgrims in the wild, by searching out some less arduous pass among the lower ridges he noticed beneath the level of his ascent : for, notwithstanding the soaring ambition common, it would seem, to mountain explorers here, as well as in every other region where clambering offers a claim to admiration ; and that the peaks of this stupendous chain frequently attain the very loftiest altitudes ; yet their average heights, stretching within our boundary until they gradually diminish to comparative insignificance in the north, do not exceed three or four thousand feet ; from which, in our calculations of a passage over their acclivities, we have to subtract the height of at least 500 feet at which the elevation of the prairies above the sea of Red River is computed ; but which plains continue to rise in ascertained but imperceptible ascent westward, till their tabular surface is terminated by the northern boundary we now contemplate, distant 800 miles ; thereby naturally giving grounds for further subtraction. But average loftiness does not necessarily

imply the total absence of alternate depressions, gaps, and ravines in mountain ranges: and often the most towering eminences are so separated from correspondent summits, as to admit of the most facile means of winding round their lower bases, or middle girths. That such passes do not intervene in our line of these mountains, on the south-east, is still left to be determined by express and minute survey.

We have now fairly arrived at our seventh, or Pacific Division—The *Terra Felix* of our series, where Nature, atoning for whatever sternness she may occasionally display on the east of her towering sublimities among these hills, opens her lap with the veriest liberal profusion to the seasons, and smiles in one of the most delectable atmospheres of her whole earthly reign. Here, exempt from the magnetic currents to which has been ascribed the supernatural cold of her transmontane parallels, in her eastern vicinity, the air resumes the same tone and temperature which the correlative latitudes exhibit in the Old World; and the fig, orange, lemon, melon, vine, and many other fruits proper to the tropics, are well-known to be the indigenous growth of the southern soil of this favoured shore. The central forests of the continent, we have just hastily described, in our rapid summary, are indubitably rich in arboreous produce; but, opulent as they may be in costly timber, what are they to the vegetable glories of the Pacific shore? This land is a golden terminus, indeed, to the wastes and wilds which intervene betwixt us and the western verge of our American possessions, and would pay a most grateful indemnity for the rougher reception which climate opposes to travellers on the Atlantic extremity of our line. But not to crowd testimony upon

the mind of the reader, we will, in this chapter, confine our illustrations upon this head, to the evidence of Mr. Nicolay, borne by the descriptions given in his travels through that country :—

“ This land (says that gentleman) offers even now exports of hides, cattle, wool and tallow, as well as salted meats, beef, pork, wheat, barley, Indian-corn, apples, and timber. Of these much are sent to the Sandwich Islands, some to California; and hides and wool have been sent to England. The woods of the Oregon present another fertile source of national and commercial wealth. The growth of timber of all sorts, in the neighbourhood of the new harbour of the De Fuca Strait, adds much to their value as a naval and commercial station. Coal is found in the whole western district, but principally shows itself, above the surface, on the north part of Vancouver’s Island. To these sources of national and commercial wealth must be added the minerals—iron, lead, tin, &c. The mountains and sea coast produce granite, slate, sandstone; and in the interior oolites : limestone is plentiful; and to the north most easily worked, and very rich in colour.”

Another respectable authority observes that the country termed “ New Caledonia,” between the Rocky Mountains and Cascade Mountains, near the coast of the Pacific, is well-watered, undulating in bold swells, with occasional plains and copses, and an abundance of forest trees, of which the cedar, fir, and hemlock, grow to a prodigious size. Captain Gordon, of the steam sloop *Cormorant*, writing on the 7th October, 1846, reports that coals in abundance, and of the best quality, can be wrought at 4s. a ton ! Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, the latter of the Royal Engineers, state that the speci-

mens of lead found in the mountains on the coast are apparently very fine. The fisheries (of salmon and sturgeon) are inexhaustible, and game of all descriptions abound. The timber (these gentlemen add) is extremely luxuriant, and increases in value as you reach a more northern latitude—that in 50° to 54° being considered the best. Pine, spruce, red and white oak, ash, cedar, arbutus, poplar, maple, willow, and yew, grow in this section of the country north of the Columbia river—the cedar and pine particularly becoming of an immense size. On the lands near the head of Puget's Sound, they cultivate wheat, potatoes, &c. ; but the magnificent ranges of rich prairie country, between the shores of the Sound and the Cascade Mountains to the east, are chiefly used as pasturage for immense herds of cattle and sheep. Lieutenant Vavasour, writing on the 1st March, 1846, says that “there is plenty of timber of every description on Vancouver's Island; as also limestone, which can easily be transported to all other places in the territory, where it may hereafter be deemed necessary to form permanent works.” It is now only necessary to add, on the same respectable authorities already named, that around Fort Victoria, opposite Fort Langley, excellent buildings and stores are erected, the lands are inclosed and cropped, and the place stocked with cattle; and finally, that the country is fine, the climate salubrious, and all the necessities of life abundant.

In short, with regard to this extreme division of the projected railway, we have clearly to state, on these and other authorities, too numerous to recapitulate, that the atmosphere and capabilities are not surpassed, nay, not even equalled, by those of any other point along the whole Pacific, whether considered in a military view, connected

with Vancouver's Island, lying as it does in so convenient and commodious a basin, protecting and protected; or commercially, when we behold that basin, so inviting to trade, coming in direct course from north-eastern Asia; and capable of sheltering in its waters the fleets of the whole world—earnest of the speedy rise of a port upon this shore that will not only extinguish at once, and for ever, the transient prosperity and renown of San Francisco, but in future may out-rival even the universal mart and immortal fame of ancient Tyre and Sidon.

While reviewing what we have written with regard to the Rocky Mountains, our attention has been called to the public announcement of a project, presented, accepted, and now actually preparing for execution, by the Royal Sarde, Victor Emmanuel, with the full and entire sanction of the Piedmontese Parliament: the grandeur and magnitude of which undertaking eclipses all that England with her immense resources, extra population, and boasted energies, has ever yet attempted in the shape of public works: an example before which the scheme of a railway across the American prairies, and a passage over the Rocky Mountains, shrinks into a feat of ordinary conception. With the mere handful of population the little monarchy of Piedmont can command, its late reverses and limited revenues, the enterprise assumes a complexion of stupendous hardihood and magnificence, still more dazzling in proportion to the difficulty and sacrifice. Do not then, in fair justice to our British genius, after the challenge offered by so grand an example, shrink abashed from the task of conquering the barrier chain which divides our American possessions; and separates England from direct communication with the Pacific. For should the little

Government of Piedmont really vanquish the Alps, and bore a passage through their sides, merely to augment the land traffic of Italy, what were the Rocky Mountains, but insignificant hillocks—to which the Alps are, on this occasion, as “Ossa to a wart:” an obsolete wall through which a break would instantly be rewarded, not with the partial traffic of a region, but the confluent commerce of the world entire. Postponing further comments on this head, permit us to present the following extract for the consideration of the incredulous deniers of a practicable passage through the Rocky Mountains:—

“To complete the direct line of railroad communication between Boulogne and Venice and Ancona, and consequently between London and the Adriatic, one only obstacle lies in the way. The chain of Mont Cenis, and Mont Genève, running nearly north-east, and south-west, would cross such a line, and present with their elevation of 11,000 feet an insurmountable bar to any direct and continuous railway.

“From London, as far as Chambery, by the Lyons railroad, all is smooth enough; nay, that rail can, and will, and, indeed, is now about to push further, ascending to Mont Meilland, and St. Maurienne (names well-known to old post-travellers, who directed their steps along the valley of the Arc towards Lanslebourg), and, by an ulterior effort, it will yet reach higher, as far as Modane, at the foot of the northern crest of the Graian, and Cottian Alps. But once there, all further progress is arrested; and no train can hope to reach the Italian side to Susa and Turin; and thence to the eastern coasts of the peninsula, unless a subterranean wayfare be pierced through the snow-capped barrier.

“What a magnificent problem is here presented to the inventive genius of the age! What splendid results to be attained by its successful solution! Such a problem has been actually under consideration of the Sardinian Government, since August, 1845. Its solution is no longer a matter of doubt. The possibility of boring through the heart of Mont Genève, and of linking Chambery with Susa, north and south of that range, is a demonstrated truth. The Great Tunnel of the Alps is about to become a reality, under the auspices of Victor Emmanuel, and the Piedmontese Parliament.

“The author of this gigantic scheme is the Chevalier Henry Maus, Honorary Inspector of the *Génie Civil*; the same who devised and executed the great works of the Liége Railroad. After five years of incessant study of this question, and many practical experiments and calculations, including the invention of new machinery for boring the mountain, this officer made his final reports to Government on the 8th of February, 1849.

“A commission was thereupon named on the 13th of July, 1849, consisting of several distinguished civil engineers, and artillery officers, senators, members of the Government, and a professor of Geology, to examine and give their opinion on the nature and feasibility of Chevalier Maus' project. That commission, on the 1st of November last, being then under the presidency of the Minister of Public Works, the Chevalier Paleocapa, decided unanimously and entirely in favour of the project. Their report, together with the Chevalier Maus', has recently been printed for private distribution, by order of the Sardinian Government, illustrated with maps, and plans, and all the various calculations, not

only of expense, but of the mechanical difficulties also which this great and striking project presents.

“An application for a part of the funds required to begin the Great Tunnel will be made to the Chambers forthwith; and the work, which it is expected will occupy five years, will cost 14,000,000 francs; while the entire railroad of the Alps, connecting the tunnel with the Chambéry Railway on the one side, and with Susa on the other side (in length together 36,565 metres, or $20\frac{1}{4}$ English miles), will cost 21,000,000 francs, forming a total expense of 35,000,000 francs. The Great Tunnel itself will measure 12,290 metres, or nearly seven English miles in length: its greatest height will be 19 feet, and its width 25, admitting, of course, of a double line of rail. Its northern entrance is to be at Modane; and the southern entrance at Bardonneche, on the River Mardovine. This latter entrance being the highest point of the intended line of rail, will be 4,092 feet above the level of the sea; and yet 2,400 feet below the highest culminating point of the great road, or pass over Mount Cenis. It is intended to divide the connecting lines of rail leading to either entrance of the tunnel into eight inclined planes, of about 5,000 metres, or two and a half English miles each, worked, like those of Liége, by endless cables, and stationary engines; but in the present case moved by water power, derived from the torrents.

“The remarkable part of the project, however, is the newly devised machinery, and motive power, by which the Chevalier Maus proposes to bore the Great Tunnel. It is as ingenious as it is new: presenting some extraordinary facts in mechanics, which could hardly have been anticipated; but the truth of which has been tested, and verified by practical essays, made with working models of

the natural size, before the Government commission already mentioned; but these, in the consideration of the immense results, social, commercial, and political, that may be expected to flow from such a gigantic undertaking, with which the Thames Tunnel, and the Britannia Bridge, become secondary objects, may soon form the subject of another article."—*Times*, April 15th, 1850.

CHAPTER VII.

ENGLISH DISTRESS, AND CANADA TO THE RESCUE.

WE have shown in a former chapter, on the most unquestionable authorities—namely, the parliamentary returns and other authenticated reports—the numbers of overwhelming multitudes of our countrymen who are in receipt of parish relief; and we shall have occasion in a future chapter more particularly to allude to this class of our population. There is at the same time another class fully as numerous, uninscribed on the pauper list, who linger under even worse destitution than our paupers, swelling the squalid mass, and equally dependent upon charity for support—miserable beings, who, in the hand-to-mouth precariousness of hap-hazard labour, barely sufficient to sustain animal life, prolong a wretched existence, between life and death, till their doom is sealed in the last stage of unmitigated suffering. With the less-miserable million, however, provided with work, but who must yet labour at it against time, like sinking mariners at the pump, or with the countless multitudes wasting in secret penury, we have not now to deal, since the sufferings of these victims are but the immediate effects of the over-crowd; to whom regular occupation and bread would necessarily accrue the instant we could rid ourselves of the pressure of a superfluous

body whose destitution is not only complete, but rendered confirmed and irremediable by fixed habits of dependence, till, hardened in their degradation and wretchedness, they have resigned themselves without scruple, as without other hope, to the mercy of public charity. These annually cost the country six millions in parish rates; but, taking all, without distinction of characters and classes, dependent throughout the realm upon public and private charities for means of existence, the gross expense of their support is calculated to amount to nothing less than forty millions!

Like a cancer, the eating disease has spread till its virulent excess gallops on to the last extremity of final ravage; and if the disorder has become insupportable at present, where will it be anon? Is it a disorder which time of itself can eradicate, and is the remedy likely to prove more efficacious by delay? No, no; every year imparts to the infected body of England some more formidable symptom of mortality, engendered of the parent evil, *pauperism*; till the complication equals in fatal malignity the original mischief itself. Each day some fresh feature of our social disorder is exposed to light, filling us with consternation and perplexity. Now the voice of distress echoes from the extreme of the British islands, where the hardy mountaineers, after intense suffering under long-stifled misery, are torn from their hearths in thousands, like the natives of North Uist, to perish on the hill-side, or scatter themselves in forced exile to the four winds. Now the note is pealed by Lanark, pinched with hungry wretchedness; or the cry comes from Lancashire, from Gloucester, Sussex, Norfolk, Cambridge, Hants, Notts, Berks, till the chorus is swelled to its full volume of distress by the deep groans of Dorset, where the

wages of the labourer are five shillings a-week, and where committals for crime have recently increased, from three hundred, to one thousand three hundred ! Then come the appalling pictures of London wretchedness, chronicled in our public prints, till the coldest heart waxes sick ; and Charity hesitates, in utter despair, at the increasing appeals urged in behalf of oppressed industry : starving multitudes, dependents of the hour : Spitalfield martyrs : ragged children ; and destitute needlewomen, perishing like dogs in the squalid recesses of our bloated metropolis.

Next come Parliamentary reports presented by Ireland, illustrative of a state of public misery, damning the repute of modern civilization ; which must stamp the political character of England in the nineteenth century with eternal obloquy. First, Mr. Goodbody, clerk of the Montmellick Union, officially states that the labouring classes of his district “ have nothing but patched old clothes, and the females are quite ragged ; and that such a thing as a good cloak was not to be seen with them.” Mr. Johnson, clerk of Oldcastle Union, declares, “ the clothing of the peasantry is wretched beyond description. There has been a progressive and visible change for the worse in the clothes of this class during the last two years. I am not aware (he writes) of a single instance in this locality of an able-bodied man having an entire suit of clothes.” Colonel Jackson states, “ that in Ennis, the people have not clothing by day or by night ;” and Captain Kennedy, from Kilrush, observes, “ a great part of the people are all but naked.” Major M’Kie, of Galway, reports as follows :—“ In this Union none can fail to observe the wretched state of the poor as regards their want of clothing ; many have scarce a rag to cover them.”

Captain Spark, from Scariff, remarks, "They are at present all in rags, they and their wives and children; their better clothes have been made away with to obtain food and necessaries." Captain O'Neill, of Glenties, in Donnegal, states that "the want of warm clothing is very much felt by the poor peasantry in this Union. It is painful to see the wretchedness and misery of some of them, wandering about the country without being half clad, and the rags they have to cover them are in such a tattered and filthy state, that the poor creatures cannot receive either heat or comfort from them." Captain Handley writes from Swinford as follows:—"It is painful to behold groups of those unfortunate people shivering under disgusting rags, with difficulty kept together, and barely affording a partial covering. I am convinced that many are obliged to absent themselves from divine service from want of clothing." Major Halliday, from Granard, says of the poorer classes, "the term '*clothing*' would be, in fact, a misnomer for the rags that are too generally their covering." Mr. Hamilton, of the Eris district, in Mayo, writes as follows:—"In reference to the clothing of the peasantry in this district, I regret to inform the Commissioners that the condition of the poorer classes is really deplorable. In many instances the males are driven to assume the garb of females, when poverty drives them from the screen of their wretched cabins to seek support. They are frequently to be observed with no other covering except the remnant of some tattered bed-clothing merely hung on their shoulders; two or three persons being covered with what was once a blanket. The clothing of the children of the most distressed portion of the peasantry has become extinct."

Such is the state of her British Majesty's *beloved* sub-

jects of the United Kingdom, under the most *enlightened* Government upon the earth! Why, the most wretched tribes of Tonguese, or Esquimaux, would shudder to exchange their comparative condition of sybarite luxury for the utter destitution of these more wretched British. But what remedial alternative have we within ourselves for the mitigation of such unqualified misery? Would a reduction of taxation alone at once and completely do it? No: for these miserable beings, whom we have described, contribute but little; and the reduction of the price of necessaries would avail nothing with those to whom the smallest coin, indispensable to their purchase, is unattainable. Would augmented taxation suffice? No: for it would only increase the number of destitute. Would increased trade effect the purpose? No: for every market is already glutted with our produce. Would the reclamation of waste lands, and the formation of "*labourers' homes*," so strenuously advocated by a class of political projectors, accomplish the desired end? Most assuredly not: for how could we support the hungry millions until these waste lands were converted into fruitful territories? How root out the vice engendered in poverty and despair, to substitute the order necessary for the accomplishment of such purpose? And when all were done, what would prevent the spread of population from still outrunning the means of provision, seeing that our numbers must continue to increase in proportion to our resources?

On this subject a great politico-economical authority observes (Malthus on "*Population*"), "In a country like Brabant, or Holland, where territory is the principal want, and not manure, such an arid district as the Campine is described to be, may, perhaps, be cultivated with advantage; but in countries possessed of a large

territory, and with a considerable quantity of land of a middling quality, the attempt to cultivate such a spot would be palpable misdirection, and waste of both individual and national resources. The French have already found their error in bringing under cultivation too great a quantity of poor land: they are now sensible they have employed in this way a portion of labour and dressing which would have produced a permanently better effect if it had been applied to the further improvement of better land. Even in China, which is so fully cultivated, barren heaths have been noticed in some districts; which prove that, distressed as the people appear for subsistence, it does not answer for them to employ any of their manure on such spots. These remarks will still be further confirmed, if we recollect that, in the cultivation of a large surface of bad land, there must necessarily be a very great waste of seed corn. We should not, therefore, be too ready to make any inference against the internal economy of a country from the appearance of uncultivated heaths without other evidence; but the fact is, there is no country that ever reached, or probably ever *will* reach, its highest possible acmé of produce. It appears always as if the want of industry, or the ill direction of that industry, was the actual limit to a further increase of produce and population, and not the absolute refusal of nature to yield any more. But a man who is locked up in a room may be fairly said to be confined by the walls of it, though he may never touch them; and with regard to population, it is never the question whether a country will produce any more, but whether it will be made to produce a sufficiency to keep pace with the unchecked increase of the people. In China the question is, not whether a certain addi-

tional quantity of rice might be raised by improved culture, but whether such a condition could be expected during the next twenty-five years as would be sufficient to support an additional three hundred millions of people. And in this country, it is not the question, whether, by cultivating all our commons, we could raise considerably more corn than at present; but whether we could raise sufficient for a population of twenty millions in the next twenty-five years, and forty millions in the next fifty years. The allowing the produce of the earth to be absolutely unlimited scarcely removes the weight of a hair from the argument, which depends upon the differently increasing ratios of population and food; and all that the most enlightened governments and the most persevering and best guided efforts of industry can do, is to make the necessary checks to population operate more equally, and in a direction to produce the least evil; but, to remove them, is a task absolutely hopeless."

Provision for our poor then, by any Utopian schemes of home colonization, is mere unsubstantial dreaming—neither will the pauper-menagerie system, applied to millions, suffice much longer. To capture the persons of the helpless wretches found guilty of destitution—break up their family hearths: dissever husband from wife, parent from child, only to incarcerate them in dreary buildings, whose ominous walls blast the smiles of our English landscape, is a preposterous atrocity: a restoration of penal torture, worse than the infliction of the most tyrannic violences of barbaric times; for it exquisitely refines upon cruelty, by protracting suffering on—on through a purgatory of wasted existence in hopeless degradation, privation, and despair. The heartless conception of such a system was surely inspired by the

evil genius of England in earnest of her destruction under the fatal influence of that worst poison, dissension and discontent ; for the unions (*disunions*, were more appropriate) have long been creating an odious gap of separation between the rich and poor, dividing the community into two antagonist classes—tyrants and victims. Each incarcerated pauper carries with him the sympathy of his fellows, burning with inextinguishable hatred and antipathy against the legislative jailors who deprive him of liberty, because deprived of bread ; while the contributors of compulsory benevolence, upon whose taxed bounty the captured pauper is compelled to subsist, proudly resent their liability, and recriminate upon the insolent ingratitude of their privileged pensioners ; and yet, alas, while the soil of England is thus converted into a vast field of covert feud between those who eat and those who hunger, whole empires of fertile land appertain to our dominion, and there the rain falleth “where no man is,” “on the wilderness wherein there is no man,” “to satisfy the desolate and waste ground, and to cause the bud of the tender herb to spring forth.” And yet no effectual aid has ever been tendered by a cruel legislature to convey our suffering masses, who are yearning for the smallest modicum of supporting earth, to those lands which yearn, on the other side, for the industrious hand of man.

Yet, to dispose of these unfortunate people has furnished successive Governments with favourite matter of speculative invention, as well as rumination to the utilitarian cogitators of social economy, till every possible diversity of scheme, applicable to their employment at home, has fairly been exhausted ; while equal numbers of crochetty projects for their distribution abroad, have scarcely left

one single spot of the whole distant earth unconnected with some plan for their provision and settlement. Cruel exertions of fancy!—to whose speculative wantonness thousands upon thousands of these miserables have writhed under humiliating experiments in view of our own community; or have fallen victims in despondent exile, and despairing death, without a stone to mark their foreign graves. No consideration is ever bestowed on their confirmed constitution and habits: their individual pursuits, and the consequent confinement of their faculties, which necessarily disqualify them for any other direction of their mental or bodily ability than that to which they have uniformly been accustomed; and thus we have seen the natives of our coasts, accustomed to the invigorating breezes and busy traffic of the seashore, despatched to conduct oxen in the parched and silent back settlements of the Cape: thorough-bred cockneys to herd sheep in the interior of New Holland: Highland drovers to cultivate plantations in the Tropics: Yorkshire jockies to paddle in the waters of the Pacific: Cornish miners to foot the ice of Hudson's Bay; and the pallid workman of our cotton manufactories, looms, and shop-boards, to pick in the *diggings* of California!—the fisherman and ploughman to engage in household service here—the decayed grocer and discomfited hairdresser to prosecute the labour of agriculture there; till it is everywhere customary in our colonies to find, in the example of every poor settler we encounter, some regularly acquired trade or calling reversed; and thereby a whole lifetime misapplied and cast away. For the transported pauper, true to the proverb, “must not pretend to be a chooser.” He arrives in a foreign settlement, and asks for work; his employer offers him

that only which alone suits his own convenience; this the perplexed candidate *must* accept, and fails: the master resents, the slave despairs, becomes a vagabond, starves, and dies.

Yet what of all that—if our own parishes are only rid of him, while, with the ocean between, he cannot, should he survive, return to narrate his tale? Thus, in spite of the oblivion which generally wraps the fate of our expatriated paupers, a gloomy shadow somehow still hangs upon their footsteps, conveying an indefinite repugnance of their migratory example to the minds of their caged commates left in the parish bastilles behind them. Abortive therefore, in a great measure, are the daily toutings of the emigration speculators, and their active crimps, with all their plausible assurances of speedy independence to be gained by adventurers of the pauper class who have the courage to renounce their native homes, and their claim to the benefit of parish support. In the competition of kidnappers, you hear, at every step, the advantage of each dependency trumpeted in rival boasting as superior to all others:—“Climate pre-eminently congenial”—“lands surpassing in fertility,” and “employment of every description ready at the demand of the first candidate;” all authenticated by *private* letters, very ingeniously imagined, to bait the columns of our public prints, and backed by the authority of very worshipful boards of very enterprising and adventurous companies. In the midst of all this, loose reports still drop in through the media of disappointed dupes, sufficient to create just suspicion and incertitude among the reflecting portion of the suffering poor, determining them, “rather to bear the ills they have, than fly to others that they know not of.” They

have learned that labour is nothing anywhere unless it is permanently assured; and that the facility of finding masters is of small benefit unless such masters be liberal and kind; and this necessary condition being recognised at home must, they know, everywhere equally apply.

Having found their chance, in this respect, too frequently a blank in England, they judge the stake to be no less dubious in the lottery of fate presented to adventurers in our colonies, where there is no parish-loaf—(bitter albeit the taste)—to fall back upon when the bread is too hard which the task-master barter for their sweat. They know, if wages are alluringly high at any time in our foreign settlements, they only continue so until the rumour attracts a throng of rival labour, when wages rapidly descend in proportion: they know, also, that the cost of provisions and necessaries is everywhere commensurate with the price of labour; that in every spot inhabited by a civilized community, however young the settlement, some capital is requisite to keep pace with one's neighbours, and enable them to benefit by purchase or sale, in the common market; and that precarious labour and poverty must necessarily be easier of endurance at home than when far away from the inherited rights of British birth. They have heard of the transient prosperity and discomfited dispersion of the most promising colonial establishments: that earthly paradises are nowhere more frequently visible than in England: fortune nowhere more prodigal of lucky chance, if man here chooses only to dance attendance upon her caprice in defiance of suffering. They know that gold is not a substitute for mud and dust in the cities of our distant possessions; but that sorrow and destitution there often

walk the streets as plentifully as they crawl over the length and breadth of their native island. They know that the young and strong, the enured husbandman, or follower of some few indispensable trades, are alone really acceptable; and that all others destitute of independent means, may only be regarded as superfluous and intruding nuisances. They have heard of the graveyards of Pictou, the *sheds* of Quebec, the street-bivouacs in Yankee ports, the squalid slave-markets of Australia, the *a la fresco* probations at New Zealand, the covered slavery of the Cape, the monopolies, unequal struggle, and equivocal provision common to them all! But only once remove the doubt—prove that labour really and truly is wanted—their protection assured, and bread a *certainty*, and you will quickly see our high roads swarming with columns of our British poor, far beyond the partial tides of self-banished exiles we have ever yet witnessed, all hurrying to embark in happy exultation to escape yonder mansions of woe—our revolting unions, and dark private lazar-houses of out-door pauperism, starvation, and vice.

If we repudiate the continental system of convict labour, except in our dockyards, which have more of the supply than they really require—certainly more than honest competition approves—we find that our hulks are gorged, and every county receptacle, provided for the forced abode of criminal offenders, choking with these living damned, who pine in the obstructed energies of lusty manhood, under the tedium of irksome longevity and uncorrected turpitude. In vain these penal pandemoniums are multiplied, their precincts enlarged, fresh cells added, and new wings attached, until these prison-houses have swollen into miniature towns, encircled by

gloomy walls, repulsive of the sun, and mortifying to the eye; for still the cry is for their increase, and with it demands for fresh millions of money (*five* only for the moment!!), all to be followed, when expended, by renewed appeals suggested by the number of convictions steadily augmenting on the sessional records of our criminal courts; while the metropolis alone presents a spectacle of sinister buildings of enormous magnitude, whose prisoned inmates might compose of themselves a formidable army, or considerable town.

To save the public from the intolerable weight of this growing charge, justice has frequently to apply the minimum of punishment to offences, which, under other circumstances, should demand severer infliction, perhaps to ensure permanent repression; and thus culprits are brought again and again to the bar of our tribunals, who, for their own salvation and the public good, should have been, from the first, effectually extruded from the community. To disembarrass ourselves from the pestilential and alarming blotches which these dens of thralldom stamp on the bosom of the country, we thought to bestow them upon the infant cities of our fairest colonies; and huge prison-houses, crowded with the penned criminals of *affectionate* England, were erected on their shores, as if for a distinctive mark of their connexion with their mother-country. There, familiar with the lash and chain, and strictly secluded from all communication, save their own contaminating intercourse with each other, our malefactors were wont to lie until, after a time, they were separately permitted to exercise partial labour abroad; in the practice of which, these sweepings of British gaols were established in unabashed infamy within the precincts of the colonial towns upon

which their presence was inflicted, and which were rendered doubly odious by indirect identification with their opprobrium. In process of time such criminals obtained their freedom, either by premature commutation of penalty, or after the full expiration of their sentence; when generally adopting, for obvious reasons, the land of their punishment for their future home, they soon naturally engrafted their vices, as they had reflected their shame, upon the society with whom they became thus incorporated. At length, however, the free settlers of these vexed colonies gradually gathered power to resist the continued enforcement of so revolting and demoralising an association: demurred to the arbitrary will of our Government; and compelled us suddenly to arrest the disorder and iniquity we were constantly pouring upon the choicest spots of the globe; just as if there were no desert lands beyond the pale of healthful society, where we might banish such multiplying bands of rejected felons—no swamps in British Guiana—no bitter wilds on Hudson's Bay—no shores on the Negro coast better adapted for their abode,—that we should force them thus upon the innocent victims of public service, and those private adventurers in honourable enterprize, who are so numerous compelled to court premature graves in these inhospitable climates.

Being thus compelled to return to the original necessity of maintaining our convicts at home, we very soon found the spectacle of spreading prison-holds and the enormous expense they involve, an insupportable annoyance and obstruction; and thought we might resume the convenient project of conveying them to our possessions beyond seas, only to find the abhorred exportation everywhere rejected, with a contagious spirit

of contumacy and defiance, portentous of rough work for our Ministers in the future Government of these indocile colonies. As a specimen of this feeling we give the following significant extract from one of their journals:—

“What is to be done with British culprits? England will not keep them—the Cape will not accept them—Mauritius declines them—South Australia repudiates them—Port Philip spurns them—Sydney objects to them—New Zealand detests them. Are there any in Van Diemen’s Land would accept them on any terms? Let such individual speak out. But where are the prisoners of the empire to be sent? Swan River is the only colony that has solicited the impure gift; but their destination is doubtful, since the government of this island, contrary to the desire of the public, begged as a boon that four thousand of these convicts should be sent annually to this island, two-thirds of whose population already consist of the same class. It is difficult to destroy a colony instinct with life, but it is possible; and, if this had been the avowed design of our rulers, they could not have selected a more effectual means to accomplish their purpose than that which they have adopted. They have defiled the land with an inundation of reeking criminality, sufficient to corrupt and destroy every vestige of virtue and civilization.”

At present our criminal committals annually amount, we repeat, to thirty thousand; of which, fortunately, many escape conviction on the just grounds of incontestable innocence: yet more eschew condemnation through the mere chance of defective evidence and unwillingness of persons to prosecute. But how many, branded with notorious guilt, escape public accusation altogether?

How many more only breathe in temporary respite from the impending ignominy of condign seclusion? The present criminal condition of the country costs annually little less than four hundred thousand pounds; and to form some estimate of the aggregate damage perpetrated upon the community by criminal offenders in general, we will cite a partial example of some of our smallest offenders:—

“ It appears from returns recently published, that there is an average of five hundred boys imprisoned in the county of Middlesex alone; who, under the age of sixteen, annually cost the country more than twenty-two pounds per head, whether in prison or out of it: for these juvenile depredators live upon the public whether in custody or at large; the only difference being that when in prison their cost can be more assuredly ascertained; while, when they are at large, the amount of their depredations can only be conjecturally calculated. It is, however, well known by the magistracy that these young criminals continue their fatal career until the lighter sentences of the Court have ceased to have effect, and they ultimately are transported. In addition, therefore, to the cost of their maintenance in prison, and the unknown amount of the property which they steal when out of it, must be added the expense of their prosecution, which at the Central Criminal Court amounts to the sum of forty-five pounds, six shillings; and at the Quarter Sessions to one pound, five shillings, and sixpence; and the still more serious charge for their support to the county during their imprisonment. From another return, published three years ago, it appears that, as regarded five hundred juvenile offenders, who were tried at the Sessions House of Clerkenwell, the total value of the

property stolen by them was one hundred and fifty-eight pounds, seven shillings, and ninepence; and the costs of the prosecution *four hundred and forty-five pounds, seventeen shillings, and threepence*; and the cost of their maintenance in prison, after conviction, was *nine hundred and sixty-four pounds, twelve shillings, and fivepence!*"

Eager, on the other hand, to disengage ourselves from the costly relics of our military tastes and necessities: the live lumber of former wars, we have tried the experiment, after the example of several continental states, to deliver our exchequer from the alimentary claims of "our veterans of famous service," by trafficking with them in commutation of their pensions, so as to enable them, on the strength of a little purse, to establish homes in our distant possessions; where the remnant of their vigour might still be available to the gratuitous service of the country by cultivating the soil, while presenting the semblance of a protective force; but the imperfect system observed in these experiments, the relinquishment of all stipulated claim to their devotion, and the unre-served abandonment of all organised co-operation of their force, have ever defeated the principal object of their establishment in communities. The system, we believe, has been tried at the Cape; but, in consequence of the renouncement of all right to the special service of the military settlers; and from the want of organization connecting them in any form of co-operative establishment, their military character has been rendered altogether nugatory. The same improvident consequence is witnessed in Australia and in New Zealand, where many of our retired military men have fixed their homes, without any arrangement being made by colonial authority to hold them in professional requisition. The only effectual attempt we have ever made

to convert veteran skill and knowledge to available purposes, has been exemplified on our Canadian frontier, the salutary results of which were memorably attested during the last American contest and subsequent insurrection of the Canadian provinces ; notwithstanding which, the system has still been left generally imperfect, in spite of the disposition always manifested by naval and military natures to cohere in community under especial regulations and rules : a disposition which renders them necessarily well constituted, above all others, to form establishments in new settlements, both for the order they maintain and the defence which their co-operative tendencies afford to the soil of their adoption. Our culpable negligence of this characteristic, and the origin of the military colony too loosely and languishingly preserved, even yet, on the banks of Lake Simcoe, is thus alluded to in the travels of the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt in Canada, as far back as 1795 :—

“The English regiments quartered in the vicinity of the United States lose much by desertion, seeing everywhere around them, lands either given away, or sold at a very low rate ; and surrounded by people, who, within a twelvemonth, have risen from poverty to prosperity, and are now married and proprietors. They cannot endure the idea of a servitude which is only to end with existence. The *ennui* naturally arising from the dull and secluded manner of living in garrisons, where they find neither work nor amusement, and the slight attention shown them by the colonels, darken still more, in their view, the dismal picture of their situation. They emigrate, accordingly, into the United States, where they are sure to meet a settlement which, if they choose to work, cannot fail to make them rich and independent.

To hold out to them the hope of settlement in the English colonies of Canada, would be the only means of rendering less dangerous the temptations offered by the United States. It is with this view that Governor Simcoe very wisely formed the project of dismissing every soldier who should find an able substitute in his room, and to give him one hundred acres of land."

But the judicious project of the shrewd and benevolent Governor Simcoe was never fully carried out, which was, to form these into standing corps of local militia—and this scheme followed up in a consistent system may be said to have perished with him, although upwards of one thousand discharged soldiers were settled alone in the township of Perth, as early as 1817; but who, being left abandoned and uncared for, unregulated and unofficered, gradually fell victims to idleness and inebriety. Lord Seaton afterwards, it would seem, endeavoured to resuscitate the scheme; but from the same negligent cause there was so much improvident disorder amongst the imprudent recipients of the commutation bribe pressed upon these discharged soldiers, that very soon the dispensioned warriors were seen reduced to public mendicity in the towns of British America, compelling the Government, in penitent regret for their ungenerous dealing, to restore a portion of their scanty stipend, and provide them with an asylum in the back woods of the lakes; where, in the undisciplined disorder of an uncontrolled state, neither civil nor military, they died off in rapid succession, leaving the ruins of the log village, charitably erected for their accommodation, a still existent monument of their ill-regulated society.

More judiciously ordered than these, because settled with

proper grants of land, while more methodically connected under the immediate supervision of officers, (compounders, like themselves, for small capitals realised by commutation of pay,) another soldier's home was tried by veterans, who, in good understanding and intelligence with Government, have been numerous located in close brotherhood and accordant loyalty on the banks of Lake Simcoe. The rapid prosperity and co-active zeal of these military colonists—amounting with their families to more than 6,000—soon satisfactorily proved, and still continue to demonstrate, how effectively such a system of civil-military settlements might be carried into general practice on a larger scale—a scheme by which, without sacrifice, or rather by a reduction of public expense, an available and ready force might always be permanently congregated at certain desirable points, or key-posts within our American colonies, superseding, thereby, the necessity of any considerable amount of regular force for the protection of the territory. We should thus rescue at the same time, from the enervating and destructive vices of our English cities, many a poor soldier, whose retirement is embittered by the irregularities and intemperance to which he is perpetually tempted, at the expense of his comfort, and reputation, and to the perversion of the national bounty.

For the peculiarly happy adaptation of men, on the other hand, who have been habituated to the order and discipline of shipboard existence, to the purposes of settlement in community on land, we might refer in proof to innumerable instances, attended with the highest prosperity, in every part of the world; but the successful examples conspicuously exhibited in the satisfactory condition of our coast-guard stations, so thickly planted along the whole of the circumference of our Bri-

tish shores, should fully suffice for our conviction. How frequently, in the most solitary and unpromising spots on the whole coast: exposed to the roughest visitings of the ocean gale, and surrounded on every side by the barren desolation of ungrateful lands that have been utterly abandoned in definitive hopelessness by the baffled husbandmen, do we behold these maritime cantonments smiling with look of most inviting comfort, with their thriving plots and vernal paddocks, in spite of Nature's sterile stubbornness; while the most exemplary order and kind fellowship prevail among the hardy inmates of these sequestered stations! Surely, if situations so repulsive as these can be converted to such comfortable homes by these seamen on shore, such a country as Canada could afford a thousand superior enjoyments and resources to such a class, so ready as is that land to respond to the simplest culture, and where there are so many unrivalled lakes and navigable rivers to attract and engage nautical tastes and pursuits.

Now, connected with our conception of a Canadian railroad from Halifax to the Pacific is a salutary project of correspondent magnitude—a scheme nothing less than to draft from England, with the immediate prospect of remunerative return, the major part of this combined mass of pensioners, paupers, and prisoners; the enormity of whose demands on the public purse excite such a general sentiment of embarrassment and depression. Yes; we propose to “relieve England from the major part of the combined mass of her pensioners, paupers, and prisoners”—and this sentence we *repeat*, in order to impress it more emphatically upon the reader's attention; while commending him to repress every sentiment and expression of surprise and incredulity, till a cool and

discriminating examination of the ways and means which our plan involves shall confer a just warrant to entertain the objections of scepticism—scepticism, that bar to progress, and tomb of the noblest improvements—the wisdom of fools, and convenient subterfuge of the obstructive and the inert! We have already submitted that the grand route of the world which we have traced in prospective leads over a granary sufficient to supply all Europe if it were needed, with plentiful provision for ages to come—a common resource, disposed by original design, in the conservative bounty of nature, between the two most populous portions of the planet, and which only wants hands to produce universal abundance, while the neglect of its provision is contempt of providence and crime against the human race. We have already suggested that all the various requisite material necessary for the construction of this highway round the world is literally provided in the store-houses of the earth throughout the whole track of this suggestive route, whose course is so significantly defined by the finger of Nature herself. Coal, iron, lead, copper, timber, stone, lime, and brick-clay, are there deposited in convenient profusion along the banks of navigable and connected waters, extending their proffered aid in the very direction of this invited route: all this material unclaimed yet of any man, but gratuitously presenting itself to the discretion of the first occupants of the land. What is chiefly wanted there is, *labour*—the means of transporting it to the field of operation: and the provision necessary to the support of that labour when employed at the scene of its exercise. The first, as already observed, we possess in such superabundance at home as to be a curse. The second is largely offered by the improved and increased current intercourse now

established between our shores and North America. For we have a free water-passage opened to an extent of two thousand miles, from the Atlantic to the very centre of the proposed line; with thriving settlements, furnishing every resource, advanced *one-third* of the way; and our access especially open and facile by the nature of the coast and river communications on the Pacific; in which direction British colonies, opportunely situated, offer the refreshment of half-way rest to those who would enter the field upon the western side. As to the third, the labouring hosts we have to dispose of are *already* saddled on the nation for support! We have them *now*, and *that* with the prospect of being subject to the burthen for life—a burthen unbalanced by any equivalent in labour.

But without waiting in this place to demonstrate how the expense of maintaining so many of our labouring poor would instantly be reduced to less than one-half by their removal to Canada, nor dwelling on the immediate prospect which their mission thither would secure, not only of a full indemnity for all their cost, but of the utter extinction of the pauper dependence of one class and the amelioration and reform of the other—converted as their activity would be to an object of such vast national profit and utility—we will proceed at once to a summary detail of organization, insisting, in the face of every opposition, upon the eligibility of our entire scheme of emigration as superior to every other submitted as a panacea for the evil of our overgrowth. We maintain, then, the project to be both practicable and facile; and, if we can only prove it such, we must hope its execution cannot but be imperatively and incontinently embraced.

First, then, we boldly contemplate the employment of *twenty thousand Convicts*, to break the ground and rough hew the line. If we deal in *grand numbers*, it is because grand objects demand grand means: it is because the greater the labour applied, the quicker the completion of the enterprize—the quicker the completion, the quicker the remuneration—the quicker the remuneration, the quicker the relief of British suffering and distress; which are too deep-seated and colossal to admit of petty modes and temporising expedients. We repeat, then, that we propose a draft of 20,000 convicts: first, because they are required; and secondly, because much more than that amount can be spared—because all that remain in durance at home must still continue to compel the maintenance of expensive establishments; because we can transport *seven* convicts to Canada at a less cost than we can ship *one* culprit to the southern hemisphere (where, notwithstanding the sacrifice, we are still too glad to expedite our malefactors); and because we might support our transports in North America at one-third less than the expense of their maintenance in England.

It may be objected, however, that a great number who figure in the list of the condemned must necessarily be inefficient for whatever labour requires the exercise of any considerable physical strength; but isolated, as such a body would needs be, in deserts remote from inhabited districts, much work of a light nature would be held in equal requisition with the heaviest bodily exertion; such as cooking, cleaning, washing, carrying, herding, driving, and other less arduous employments, which yet are all indispensably necessary. There is little fear, that for some years at least, the number of these convict labourers would cease to be constantly

recruited from the mother-country ; but we expect, on the contrary, that their amount would be materially augmented by a change of practice with our judges, who, in very mercy, would in such a case frequently award the maximum of punishment for offences now commonly visited with brief, and therefore ineffectual, imprisonment : and this lenity, so often abused, they would probably depart from. It might indeed, not unfrequently, be left optional with the culprit to choose the scene of his correction ; and doubtless many would gladly volunteer to perform their expiation by a ten days' voyage to America, there to labour in comparative freedom and open air, rather than undergo the unnatural and irksome infliction of solitary confinement within the gloomy walls of a home-prison. How many of our petty culprits, debased although they be, would rather prefer assured labour in the woods and prairies, to the misery of their abject haunts, and the dangerous pursuit of crime to which they are often absolutely driven by sheer destitution and loss of character—a conjecture emphatically corroborated by the fact of a meeting of London thieves, self-convened for the object of consulting means for their extrication from temptation and vice published not long ago by Lord Ashley. The small expense and short duration of transit to Canada would most likely render deportation to that country for a term but of two years—nay, of only *one* year, perhaps—a practice of expedient public relief and profit in cases of minor crimes, and thus our streets would be swept clean of prowling vagrancy and petty larceny. “Halt !”—the eager to cavil will exclaim, in the exulting supposition of our blind forgetfulness of a fact upon which we have recently commented—namely, the general determination simultaneously exhi-

bited by almost all our colonies of henceforth interdicting their shores to our self-accommodating introduction of banished criminals—a sentiment more readily to be apprehended from Canada, the proudest and most jealous of them all; and whose pure character has never yet been disgraced by the stigma of such a visitation. But to this objection of the caviller we would call “Halt” in turn; for we are not mad enough to propose the permanent introduction of convict impurity into the towns and flourishing settlements of civilised Canada, but only temporarily for the express object of its speedy enrichment and advantage. They would only have to contemplate the conveyance of labour into the remote wilds of their western territories, and that by sacred covenant for only a limited period; and for a specific purpose: the which being once attained, the evil but convenient instruments of so desirable an end would be withdrawn, to a man, from the sphere of their beneficial labour; to expiate the rest of their sentence in some fitter region for a seat of punishment than the enviable and precious line of settlement, which would instantly spring into peopled prosperity through the effects of their preparatory labours. Their errand would be a mere journey through the land; having only to move over a narrow tract of wilderness: clear it: throw it open to the coast, and depart; without exposing in their tasked progress the exemplary community of the country, at any point of their route, to the pollution of their repugnant contact—a necessity we have fully foreseen, and provided for, as will be perceived as we proceed.

We adhere, therefore, to our scheme of employing 20,000 convicts; and these we would separate into seven grand divisions of corps of about 2,800 each, to be numbered, and named after the seven sections of the line of railroad

which we have proposed, defined, and designated in a former chapter ; such distinctive denomination to be conferred in reference to the respective localities to which the labours of each corporate division would be directed. Thus, the first division of this body would be called the "Atlantic Division ;" the second division of the body, the "Quebec Division ;" the third division of the body, the "Lake Division ;" the fourth division of the body, the "Central Division ;" the fifth division of the body, the "Prairie Division ;" the sixth division of the body, the "Mountain Division ;" and the seventh division of the body, the "Pacific Division." We further propose that each of these divisions of corps should be regulated in their whole system, social economy, and public work, by a board of general direction established in the centre of each section of the line of road. And each of these divisions of corps to be again subdivided into bodies of men, each, to be under a superintendent constantly attached, and moving with the main body of such subdivided working corps, which should be distinguished from the grand division to which it would belong, by some peculiar marks, and number of its own ; such for instance as "Force Labourers," No. 1, 2, 3, of such or such division. Again to every hundred convicts a vice-inspector, accustomed to direct the exercise of convict labour, might be judiciously appointed, and subordinate to him, a due complement of active warders, habituated to enforce prison regulations and discipline, as they now obtain in our best conducted gaols. In addition to such officers we would propose that convicts of approved deportment under their sentence might be promoted to minor authority over their comrades in misfortune ; such occasional advancement to be accompanied with some small advantages and immunities ; and the authority of

the aspirant marked by some trivial distinctive badge, thereby to excite laudable emulation among the convict body; which would secure a more vigilant watch, and a closer knowledge of the private sentiments and proceedings of the whole body. These subdivisions of the main bodies into working forces would be liable again, by the accident of circumstance and nature of the country, to be frequently separated into smaller detachments, and these again into still less fractions, gangs, and parties, for which proper precautions would have to be devised by experienced practitioners in such details. With due regard to the characters of the subjects, and the degree of guilt connected with their offences, we propose that these *corps mobiles*, or subdivided bodies, termed "Force Labourers," should be assorted and composed in a manner to ensure that the least culpable, and best conducted only, might be appointed to such portion of the force as would approximate nearest to peopled settlements and towns; whilst the more formidable under sterner government might be consigned to the midland woods and prairies, and the most flagitious and incorrigible of them all to the ruder labours of the West Prairies and Rocky Mountains. We propose that these transports be habited in garments suited by their quality and texture to their work in such a climate and country; that they should be rendered conspicuous by their fashion and party-colours; and that each article of dress should be inscribed with the names and numbers of the particular division to which the wearer belonged, as is customarily observed almost everywhere with convict gangs appointed to outdoor labour. In addition to close-cropt heads, which, in case of evasion, they might conceal with caps, or disguise with false hair, these malefactors, according to the pre-

caution of some countries towards convicts, might be subject to have their eye-brows shaved; by which a runagate could not but be liable, for a considerable time, to certain detection at first sight under any disguise. Due care should also be taken to remove from them all access to weapons of offence; and equal precaution observed in daily visiting their persons and places of rest, to see that none were secretly provided with such objects; while, in addition to the strictest watch upon all their movements, attention should be had frequently to change their appointed places of labour, in order to break up all secret combinations and confidential companionships.

Meantime the better to secure them, and defend the line of works from external aggression, a chain of log forts, properly garrisoned, would have to be constructed, to serve for seats of authority and as magazines, and guarded depôts, for the better preservation of all munitions, stores, and supplies; and where, under protection of their guarded strength, stations and towns might be founded in proportion as the works of the line progressed. Congregating in the vicinity of such fortified places, voluntary and independent colonists would soon be seen to establish themselves in fast spreading communities, opposing by such rapid settlements, at intervals of distance between the working forces, a most effectual check to contumacy or escape; intercepting, as they conveniently might, all communication between the divisions and subdivisions of these surrounded prisoners. As an indispensable precaution, strong holds or enclosed barracks, constructed with the gigantic logs of the country, might be temporarily run up in various approved positions, surrounded by wet ditches, so easily formed in

Canada, the whole well palisadoed and vigilantly guarded at every point ; such buildings to serve as head-quarters, and winter-shelter for the different bodies composing these convict divisions. Or temporary houses of detention might be constructed on the islands of the lakes and rivers which so thickly intervene throughout the whole line of country from east to west ; or if not, pontines might be easily constructed, and moored upon these waters, from whence it would be difficult for the subtlest to escape. Within these, or attached to them, we propose that workshops, wood-yards and forges should be erected, to engage the industry of these convicts during winter, in the fabrication of various works, and objects of wood and metal proper to the construction of the railroad ; so that these prisoned labourers would be ready with a vast accumulation of material necessary to its construction at the very first invitation of spring. Thus they would improve the hours in defiance of the winter's interdictions ; while, more effectually to promote such work, it might, perhaps, be advisable to place them at that season under the direction of proper artificers, commanded to instruct them in all the handicraft their labours would require.

In summer, these convicts might be quartered, when under the necessity of breaking up, into detachments in log-huts or portable cabins, always pitched with a view to as much security as situation and circumstances might possibly allow. Their diligence, utility, social method, and safe custody, being thus secured, the next care devolving upon authority would be to institute such rules and regulations as would tend to infuse as much comfort and satisfaction as might comport with governmental prudence and strict discipline on the one hand,

and the nature of the community, and the individual characters of the subjects on the other. Weeding the incorrigible from the contrite : the impracticable of heart from him of penetrable conscience, what a superior field for moral conversion would this sober and sedate state of manly labour in primæval forests and unvitiated plains, present to the philanthropic purifiers of souls, over the indurated condition of prison vice in our jails ; where guilt in resentment retaliates by defiance to shame : burns in sullen silence with impatience to renew offence ; or, beneath the mask of hypocritical repentance, sneers in contemptuous mockery at the spiritual enthusiasm of the zealot who would preach perversion into virtue ; the patient's heart experiencing secret pride in resisting the forcible system by which so many crochety experimentalists upon guilt would project sinners into heaven, through the means of tread-mills and bibles, periodical whippings and tracts, oakum-picking, stone-breaking, bone-grinding, fasting and prayer, in opposition to others who would cajole them into being good by plenary indulgence ; or induce repentance by the kill-or-cure application of *ennui* in the stupefying form of solitary confinement. The word of God in the desert might have a happier effect upon culprits, however rough, than the sickly mixture of Gospel syrups, and moral mixtures so variously compounded to captivate the spirit of our imprisoned malefactors at home. While judiciously furnished with corrective instruction under sound spiritual direction, these associated outcasts might be invited to subscribe, amongst themselves, to certain bye-rules and regulations, best calculated to promote their individual and collective comfort and advantage. They might be encouraged by an occasional commutation of sentence, when merited by exemplary performance of

duty ; and certain mitigations of penalty, or entire pardon, under conditions, might be held out as a prize attainable at the completion of certain stages of the railroad works. A current report of their individual private conduct might be kept and published, which being periodically read before an assembly of administrators ; portions of the time of servitude might be publicly struck off from the sentence of the most deserving ; or former commutations cancelled, or certain privations imposed upon the offending ; the observance of such form to be adopted in order to guard against partiality and favoritism.

We would further propose that a certain small amount of pay might be allotted to every convict ; the major part of which (say two-thirds) should be retained in the hands of authority, there to accumulate till the expiration of each sentence. Thus a small fund in behalf of the prisoners at the period of their liberation would be formed ; when, should they be inclined to accept the boon, they might be presented with conditional grants of land in the remote parts of the far north-west Hudson's Bay territory ; care being there taken to separate them by assured distance from any habitations similarly bestowed upon other liberated convicts ; or places of final retreat might be appointed for them in separate parties, among some of the unfrequented islands in the Pacific ; or in another quarter we shall presently have to designate. To those whose crime is of minor gravity, and whose conduct is deserving of lenity, a certain degree of liberty might be conceded, on security being given by their friends, under penalty, that the privilege would not be abused by any attempt to escape. Convicts who have undeviatingly maintained exemplary conduct, during a certain given period of probation, might be selected into

companies apart; and, if married, their families might, under certain restrictions, be permitted to join them and accompany them to their final settlement—such alleviations and indulgences being recommended with a view to reconcile the prisoners to their fate, and render them averse to lose the benefit of their continuance. But in cases of flagrant or frequent misconduct, or any detected endeavour to escape, we submit that the convicts should be liable to the severest punishment, such we repeat as privations of indulgences for a time, the suspension of commutations, the forfeiture of accumulation of pay, and transportation to the worst divisions and heaviest works. In addition to the regular guard that should be set directly over them, the composition of which we will presently describe, we propose that a body of Canadian woodmen, familiar with the country, should serve as mounted patrol along the line of works; and that the Indian tribes in the vicinity, many of whom already are retained by Government, should be encouraged to scour the country in search of convict deserters, receiving a certain reward for every fugitive they might apprehend and deliver up to the authorities of each division: these Indians being taught to recognise the persons of runagate convicts by their party-coloured livery, cropped heads, or shaven eye-brows.

These precautions would secure the safe custody of the convicts, while they would multiply the perils they would encounter in any attempt at escape. We have, at the same time, to take into account the immense distance to be traversed through uninhabited wilds before the imprudent fugitive could reach the nearest civilized settlement beyond our Canadian border, and the doubtful reception he would there have to anticipate. For,

however willing to tamper with our mariners and soldiers, however lavish of enticements to seduce British emigrants from their settlements within the Canadian boundary, the people of the United States would hardly afford a willing welcome to visitors destitute of means and branded with ignominy. To these considerations may be added the utter want of provisions on the road, and the deprivation of fire-arms, so indispensable for procuring subsistence in the wilds; with the rigour of Nature during the winter months, the close work and watch during the summer season, and the singular faculty of pursuit upon the trail possessed by the Canadian forester as well as the native Indian—all combining, we repeat, to render every attempt to escape next to impossible. Stretching from the west and north-west point of Lake Superior, the lakes and rivers would necessarily present impassable barriers to a solitary fugitive: flight from the west, again, would necessitate a journey through hundreds of miles where the rifle and scalping-knife of the wandering red-man would imperil life at every step: the Rocky Mountains, on the other hand, would prove insurmountable to the lonely and unprovided deserter: towards the east he would only run into the lion's mouth; and on the north, he would have to encounter all the appalling desolation of deserts, without food, without shelter, and without an outlet.

On reviewing the present chapter, we cannot but feel that some misgiving may still cling to the mind of the reader at the vague manner in which we may appear to leave him with regard to the final disposal of this body of convict force, when their labour on these grand Canadian works shall have terminated; and that he may, with this uncertainty, incline to think that worse conse-

quences than the expense and embarrassment arising from their present accumulation in our jails at home may be apprehended by their being again thrown upon the British community, either in partial numbers or entire amount, suddenly and at once; and that our scheme just glanced at, of dispersing those discharged criminals in the deep north-west settlements of the Hudson's Bay territory, would neither subject them to sufficient *surveillance* in their emancipated condition, nor provide against their discretionary and therefore certain return to this country. But to dissipate uneasiness on this head, we beg to remind the reader that man once criminal is not always criminal, but that crime is frequently but an accident in the career of life; and that punishment, change, and time, are naturally prone to awaken reflection and with it very often correction and repentance. The proud character and condition of Virginia at this day, among the Federal States of the American Union; and the reformed, or rather *reforming*, morality and rapidly acquired importance of the late penal settlement of Australia, should prove that there is still too much value in men, however fallen, to cast them irrevocably forth in utter hopelessness of all social redemption. The following testimony of Mr. Hall of Sydney, in his official correspondence with Sir George Grey, on the subject of "Transportation and Convict Discipline," ministerially referred to in Parliament, is a refreshing illustration in point:—

"Looking to the late census of the population of the colony, (he says,) it will be found creditable to the colonists formerly transported hither (but long since free), and still more creditable to the immigrants with whom they form one social community. By no other nation

was ever so philanthropic a result consummated: it is worthy of the nation who paid a fine of twenty millions sterling for the liberation of her distant slaves. With respect to our general society in New South Wales, (he continues,) I myself knew a great number of men who came to the colony in bondage, who are now members of religious congregations, and distinguished for their regular and devout attention to the rites and ordinances of their church or chapels, Episcopal, Dissenting, and Roman Catholic; and I know a still greater number of heads of families, fathers and even grandfathers, who though not distinguished by any particular profession of religion, are as good members of society as the same rank or class, and of the same habits as to religion as the immigrants, and a great deal better than many of them. I would remark, too, (he says,) that my observation leads to the belief that the lower class of ex-bond parents are fully more anxious in educating their children than the lower class of immigrants, and that the marauding troops of youthful vagrants who perambulate the bush of Sydney, in most equivocal occupations, will be found to contain a greater number of boys, the offspring of immigrants, than of ex-bond parents."

Why then should we not calculate that wholesome penitence, and the air of Canada, would prove equally beneficial in reclaiming the culprit, if we are to judge by analogy, as we will presently deduce?

We have lately been accustomed to hear, from the mouth of authority, that the increase of crime, for which the present time stands so badly pre-eminent, must be attributed to the augmentation of public distress; and, with singular forgetfulness of Governmental responsibility, a British minister has infelicitously but just now

acknowledged in Parliament, "that among the causes of pressure, which *arose out of the famine* in Ireland, there sprung up a very great difficulty from the large number of persons sentenced to transportation." While another minister, in the same place, maintained that "Owing to the operation of the Act of last Session, which took away and abolished transportation for cases of petty larceny; and partly owing to the *increased comforts of the people*, the number of offences in populous parts of the country had very much decreased."

Thus, both authorities unite in imputing the *augmentation* and *diminution* of the criminal list, to causes subject to legislative control—causes whose evil effects ministerial wisdom and forethought might have averted on one hand—causes whose ameliorated consequences on the other were avowedly produced by the exercise of this very forethought and wisdom. What then is the natural deduction? Why this—simply this: that transportable offences are frequently identical with misfortune, not necessarily originating in voluntary vice, but begotten of necessity created by public pressure. And were this admitted, ought not our pity and commiseration, in liberal feeling and fair justice, to temper the severity exercised against these victims of the times?—many of whom would be still cherished amongst us, had our legislators only considered the prevention of distress as the first imperative condition imposed upon all who have courage to assume the weighty responsibilities of governing a people. For the properly-performed duties of legislators are, by their own admission, calculated to influence even the human soul by the promotion of public comfort productive of virtue, or by the engendering of those calamities through wickedness or

incapacity, which are, on the other hand, capable of precipitating millions into living ignominy and eternal perdition !

The glory of immortal Rome sprung from an origin as opprobrious, it is said, as the young nation about to inherit the dignity of constitutional distinction on the shores of Botany Bay. The shackles and handcuffs of their early progenitors have long been forgotten in the prosperity and worth of the brave and enterprising race who now people the once penal settlements of Old British America ; and the antipathy to criminal association in the improved morality of other colonies, indebted for much of their best population to the vengeance visited on the outragers of British law, seem to give similar earnest of speedy assertion of equal virtue and honour in rivalry with the noblest nations extant. " As the thing which has been, is that which shall be, and that which has been done is that which shall be done ;" and thus it would not be unreasonable to suppose that, even out of the multitudes now breathing in British jails, a fresh nation might arise, just as anxious in a few years to obliterate the guilt of their origin and demand recognition, in turn of their just claim to equality and respect with the parent State, which is now visiting its sternest retribution upon their delinquencies.

Western Canada ought not, *must not*, of course, become the cradle of a nation branded with infamy. It must not, in its infancy of promise, be even contaminated by the presence of these malefactors longer than the contribution of their labour would be necessary, as already set forth, for the construction of the grand work we have described. But let it be always understood, we do not propose to convey the most criminal of our

offenders to this new territory, big with fresh national hope. Still, if the concurrent sanction of the Provincial Governments of the combined Canadas interested in the arrangement were first voluntarily obtained, we would not desist from the continuation of convict labour ; since, after the first object of the culprit mission was accomplished, we should seek to retain forced labour for a time, in order to cut common roads, construct bridges, drain lands, form embankments, erect wharves, and assist in dockyards : in fine, all such convict toil as should be deemed necessary to advance the prosperity of the new colony. Nor do we believe that the occasional settlement of reformed offenders here and there, even in those countries or their vicinity, as we have already casually proposed, would deserve opposition from any defender of Canadian purity, or even from the jealous and offended power and authority of the Hudson's Bay Company, tenacious of its exclusive monopoly of so precious a charter, by which it would fain continue to assert the injurious and oppressive right of perpetuating a wilderness at the expense of the British nation and the entire civilized world. We at once admit, in selecting any portion of these vast regions, that some separate and distinct territory must be chosen for the ultimate settlement in general of this expatriated community, when its probationary and penitential labours on Canadian ground shall have concluded. But the final assemblage of convicts in a land of their own should be prepared by gradual training under the judicious instruction of diligent missionaries, expressly delegated to accomplish their moral regeneration, and whose pastoral ministry all the circumstances of position, time, and place, could not but

most singularly second. For what diversion from reflection, what temptation to evil, could possibly militate in the desert against the influence of Christian admonition, directed with judgment and friendly kindness, to inspire consolation and recover the outcast culprit to the comfortable sentiment of self-esteem? 'There, engaged in healthful labour, too considerably imposed to warrant the indulgence of resentment or despair, the convicts would be discriminately classed and assorted, and their better natures conciliated by means of reasonable and appropriate recreation; while all this time they would be kept throughout under equable discipline, with the certainty of prompt and inevitable punishment proportioned to each offence, with all the danger and difficulty of escape made manifest to their senses and understanding. Above all, their hearts would be kept constantly cheered with the hope of reward, and a final settlement in a new home, in near connexion with their native land, to which, however, return should be rendered undesirable by the well impressed assurance that, whether as freed men or unemancipated runagates, the vigilance of authority in this country would be exerted towards detection, with a sleepless rigour hitherto unexampled in our exercise of justice; and that residence here would be rendered insupportably irksome by publicity, and police precautions, stringently maintained, to protect society from exposure to any criminal relapse committed by returned convicts. In case of capture after escape from banishment, the offenders should be made liable to imprisonment for life, or sentenced to irredeemable transportation, under augmented severity. 'To give effect to this we would further

propose that a stricter system of *surveillance* should, in fact, be observed by the police authorities of this country towards all returned transports, who should be constrained, under penalty, to confine themselves for a period to some allotted district where they should be compelled to appear at short intervals before the authorities, in order to render an account of their means, prospects, and conduct. This rigour should only be relaxed in gradual process of time, and when warranted by the confirmed good behaviour of the liberated delinquents: a regulation we would recommend after the example of the police practice exerted in France.

In spite of all idle clap-traps about the liberty of the subject and the freedom due to absolved criminals, the interest of the community could not but sanction these precautionary measures, when employed against guilty subjects whose enormities have given too emphatic proof of their disposition to outrage the laws: for, in spite of all our liberality and pity, we must observe, that subjection to punishment and degradation is not *always* earnest of reform. A standing reward besides for the apprehension of runaway convicts, and severe penalties imposed upon all who should knowingly harbour them, would render the desire of return hither a notion hardly to be entertained in the minds of the convicts; while, if we could still retain these erring fellow-subjects near us in detached connexion, as it were, with their native home, by making their good conduct a title to encouragement, and freely permitting their friends and relatives, separated only by short distance, to communicate with, and join them if inclined, we should, no doubt, find these ejected members from our community as

easily reconciled to their appointed settlement, as are the free emigrants we are constantly sending out to colonies which they do not always find agreeable to their real natural tastes, though yet obliged to content themselves, as these convicts would do, with the sojourn where their destiny has cast them.

CHAPTER VIII.

ULTIMATE DISPOSAL OF CONVICTS.

It is now incumbent upon us to indicate the land we consider most eligible for the site of such a convict settlement, and we boldly propose the nearest desert, a shore we tenaciously engross only, it would seem, to neglect and abandon—we mean the blank coast behind the all-but-rejected island of Anticosti, which stretches from opposite Newfoundland, upon Labrador, southward to the river Manicongon : a tract which, prophetic of our purpose, is known by the denomination of the “ King’s Domain ;” and which, according to the ancient ordonnance of the original sovereignty which claimed it, composed a portion of what was once termed the “ United Farms of France.”

With the usual mystery so long studiously observed to repel impertinent curiosity from prying into the nature and capabilities of this land, we know nothing whatever of it but the *embouchures* of its magnificent rivers, and the vague and contradictory reports of the hunters and fishermen, in the private pursuance and individual interest of whose calling the land continues to be thimble-rigged from the British nation. There are morasses on its sea-coast, its custodians inform us ; but where are there not

marshes in similar situations, under the same latitude, in countries uncultivated and undrained? What in the same condition would be the aspect of Ireland, immediately opposite the northernmost part of the abandoned country we speak of? And amid the elevations immediately behind these morasses, and in the plains and valleys further beyond, what is the real quality of the soil—its vegetable productions and its minerals?—intersected with such noble waters, parallel with ourselves and France, so near us, too, at the same time—are we to consider this country, indeed, altogether impracticable? The supposition is a contradiction of nature; and we do not hesitate to maintain that it will be found, upon correct examination, that this portion of the earth will vindicate its title to natural productions in fair rivalry with any other in the same parallel.

There, properly located, upon a land confined between the Atlantic on the one side, and Hudson's Bay on the other—repelled by Labrador on the north, and separated by wide wastes and broad rivers from the peopled portions of Lower Canada, the convict settlers in these parts could possess but small opportunity for escape; and even could evasion be sometimes successfully effected, the attempt could only lead to sure re-capture, if the watchful system of police were observed which we have provisionally recommended. With such abundant material for ship-building as abounds upon and around this coast, why not erect dockyards upon this portion of our possessions for Government purposes? Were a strong body from our public arsenals despatched to a station on the southwest neck of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, attended with a due number of convict labourers subservient to their general need in matters of heavy work, and sup-

plied, as they would be, with the finest timbers, iron, copper, &c., from the St. Lawrence, and the country around them, and with provision of every kind so much cheaper there than in this country, would not such a station, so favoured, be of inestimable importance to this country? For the means of communication is so facile now between such a station and our public offices, that it renders visits of inspection as easily to be accomplished in the present day as were the posting journies between the Admiralty and Plymouth some forty years ago. While it would be a saving of millions in a ruinous department of our public expenditure, and produce, at least, better ships than our maritime rivals of the United States, we should be peopling, at the same time, a coast whose attitude would very soon awe and restrain them within bounds.

Let us suppose, that all the elements necessary to constitute a regulated community, and every primary accessory required for its comfort and accommodation, were prepared for these convicts previous to their removal to a home in the "King's Domain." Then, let us imagine that their after-labours, when transferred from the public works in Canada to a permanent abode in this territory, were exerted, to render this settlement habitable, why should we doubt that the same inducements which have determined so many females to confer their society upon the reformed felony of Australia would not also actuate the wives and relatives of these forced exiles to seek their homes upon this shore, which they could so cheaply reach by a few days' passage? Thus they would not have to brave, as thousands in their position have done, the hardships and perils of a long and expensive voyage to the Antipodes for a similar object, where distance renders any prospect of re-

turn all but hopeless. Moreover, the experience we have gained in the government of convict settlements, during the period our attention has been practically directed to the subject in Australia, and the many unexpected and important results which have accrued there, would be of singular advantage in the foundation and treatment of a new colony of this description nearer home, where we could so easily relieve garrisons and so speedily and cheaply supply necessary provision. In such a colony, works and manufactures, intended to operate in conjoint interest with this country, could be easily and economically introduced by people of enterprize, who, in pursuit of profit, would care as little for the presence of convicts, as similar pursuers of fortune do for the character of the population of Australia among whom they have fixed their abode. On the contrary, the resources which we cannot but think are yet to be discovered on this virgin shore, in the shape of every wood and metal indigenous to the coast of the more northern countries of our European continent, would all pledge promise of attracting a numerous and prompt accession of free settlers, stimulated by the incalculable advantage which the cheap command of convict labour so near England and the United States could not but signally realize.

Soon starting from the lifeless silence of sequestered loneliness, which for so many ages has marked this desert strand, we should soon see it dotted with a close succession of settlements, and cities rising in active relation with our native ports, till the whole desolate blank was filled, which this most approximate portion of our North American possessions presents upon the map. It is true, this shore is reported to be intensely cold;

but is it more so than Norway or Sweden? Is it more intolerable, in reality, than even Scotland—the Shetlands for example—where so worthy a portion of her Majesty's subjects are perfectly content with their location, although lying so much nearer the Pole? We have unquestionable authority for maintaining that the thermometer is not always to be relied upon as a just criterion of the temperature conveniently supportable by the human frame. There is no necessity, however, for establishing convicts in an earthly paradise, when so many of our honourable fellow-subjects are fain to set up their abode in climates far more injurious to the constitution than the territories of New Britain. We have settlements on the shores of Africa and South America immeasurably more noxious than the latter misrepresented countries; where, if the luxuries we are apt to associate with warmer climates be wanting, yet none have pretended to assert that health, strength, and longevity, are affected by the atmospheric rigour.

From those whose sentimentality would reproach us for prescribing any other climate for a place of punishment inferior to Bermuda, the Cape, Madeira, perhaps Lisbon or Montpellier, let us ask, who are the British subjects inhabiting the immediate stations around Hudson's Bay? Who forced them thither? What compels them to remain? Are not the choicest sailors of Great Britain annually exposed in whaling expeditions to severer skies than those which surround the St. Lawrence gulf? Who are those that expose their lives to explorations in the frozen seas? Who occupies Heligoland? And of those who would object to the spot we suggest, in tender feeling for the constitution and comfort of criminals and

offenders, we further ask, How is it with the inhabitants of Drontheim, among whom so many English rejoice to pass merry winters? Tobolsk, less favourably situated than the mouth of the St. Lawrence, was once a convict settlement, appalling by the reputation of its excessive winter severities: it is now the voluntary sojourn of many of the gayest members of the Muscovite court—a city which boasts of beautiful summer gardens, and is possessed of an Italian Theatre. Besides, Europeans seem no longer enamoured of nature exposed to solar excess: we have had our fill of the Tropics; and if we cannot always, indeed, continue in our migrations to remain in the precise zone of perfect temperature, we may as well begin now to diverge a *little* to the north rather than the south of it, there to cultivate resources against the adverse qualities of cold, as much as we have struggled in opposition to heat in the hot regions which have wearied us South and East.

As the United States derive such extraordinary advantages from the general invitation she offers to all comers from all countries, let us imitate her successful example; and, in self-defence, not content ourselves by only encouraging our own superfluous numbers to establish settlements in our unpeopled territories, but let invitations to our colonies be earnestly circulated through the populous and disturbed countries of northern Germany, where hard necessity and discontent, arising from over-population as with ourselves, dispose the people to seek any change for the better. But particularly among the subjects of their Danish and Swedish majesties we might beneficially recruit for colonists, to join with us in populating this portion of our American possessions, which bears so strong an analogy

to their own countries and climates. The Prussian Government, especially, might be found just now inclined to favour migratory drafts from the surplus population, which is at present causing it so much uneasiness; and, if recruiting were exerted in the northern circles of the Prussian States, a most apt and appropriate population might be found for a settlement in the quarter we propose, in conjunction with such free settlers from amongst ourselves as might prefer establishments on the coast in question, instead of pursuing the current we would direct into the interior. Among all the subjects of the American Union, there are none more industrious, or more estimable, than the German emigrants, who compose so large a portion of its population, and who are daily adding to its force by immigrations in numerous detachments. Yes: why, we repeat, should we not strive also to attract a share of this auspicious tide to our own profit? And, instead of an abandoned coast and desert waste which we continue to hold, or rather to *withhold*, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, why not augment our power and prosperity by attracting settlers to it from the continent, if we must continue too dainty to select it for ourselves? The prosperity and worth of the French Canadians, who have peopled the adjacent country, should, of itself, attest the advantage that England might speedily derive from a mixture of foreign colonists, whenever she proceeds to the actual occupancy of the neglected land we are now recommending to attention. Foreigners, being accustomed to behold the employment of convict labour in their own cities at home, would feel less revolted at the practice applied to such a settlement as we propose, than many colonists from this country; while the proverbial honesty and orderly disposition of

such a people as the Germans would operate with most salutary influence on the minds of our English transports. Feeling, besides, no national soreness at the spectacle of English degradation, these aliens would gladly avail themselves of the benefit which a colony, so assisted, would at first offer, without permitting their pride to wince under fear of any identification with the culprit population around them; with whom, by character, language, and habits, they could never become associated or familiar. Directed to the same objects of agriculture and commerce which engaged them at home—for the climate and productions of this tract are, of course, similar to those of northern Europe—and assured of an English market and the aid of gratuitous labour, we should soon behold, if once the trial were made, thousands from Germany and the countries north of the Baltic, where they have been accustomed to the severest rigours of climate. As soon as the *nucleus* of such a colony were formed, and partial prosperity crowned the combined efforts of the first settlers, all prejudice would disappear that might attach to its foundation, and we should think of it as we do now of free emigration to Australia; and not even the most credulous, or timid, would fear the horrors of a climate, which has, undoubtedly, been so much traduced. Travelling is now so general, that a familiarity with St. Petersburg, Revel, Riga, Mittau, Dantzic, Hamburgh, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Gottenburgh, Christiana, and Bergen, has cured us of all terrors of a climate which, despite of whatever peculiar qualities and mode of air and soil which may be proper to it, is still under the same solar influence as the British Isles, and cannot therefore exhibit the excessive disparity of climate we have been led to believe in, any more

than the shores of Nova Scotia, which, until very lately, were considered all but uninhabitable.

Certain it is, that we should still, for a time, have to provide for the maintenance of our convicts in this settlement of the "King's Domain;" but what of that, since we must maintain them somewhere?—and surely it were better to contribute to their support *out* of the country, than to retain them in lingering misery within the crowded precincts of British gaols! Nor should it be lost sight of, that the convicts deported to this proposed settlement would not have to be obtruded upon any people in prior possession, who might be unwilling to receive them; unless, indeed, the sprinkling of inhabitants that occupy the Rupert River, or East Main, should object, in the interest of the fur-kings, to interlopers of any description, who should "come betwixt the wind and their nobility;" and this, without reflecting that connexion with the coast, by direct passage to sea-ports on the Atlantic, is necessary to the life and being of their settlements in the interior, and that they might as well be in the moon as cribbed up by intervening deserts in the limbo of this British Siberia, where unoffending exiles must depend upon the slender provision of the chase, or starve.

It should be borne in mind that, in our contemplation of such a colony, we regard it as a mere consequence dependent on the grander project we have in view; and that we have proposed that the convicts, to be thus finally settled, should be prepared by a preliminary dwelling in Western Canada, and subjection there to a kind of apprenticeship in all the labours they would have to perform at the ultimate home of their destination, while trained at the same time by moral correction for the new life awaiting them.

Thus, we should see British Canada extending upon all sides, supported on her north as well as upon her west; while this new colony, in connexion with all the rest of our combined power upon the American continent, would become a *New Britain* indeed, brought by steam into almost immediate contact; and thus, before long, after the example of our other colonies, we should behold a new people, perhaps, composed of the very sediment and lees of our British rabble, and the very sweepings of our gaols, assuming, in recovered character, an honourable and imposing attitude at our very door, claiming our respect in virtue of desert, and demanding also, in their turn, to be received into the constitutional circle of the British family on a footing of freedom and equality.

Or, let us ask those who, while arrogating possession, maintain the coast to be far inferior, indeed, to other climates of this country, is it not for that *very* reason all the better adapted for a place of punishment; serving, as it would, by the terror of its inclemencies, to deter our comfort-loving British from the perpetration of crime? With the hardships of such a destination in view, we no longer should behold justice defeated by the frequent examples of culprits committing offences for the express and avowed purpose of incurring transportation; nor should we any longer hear of insolent malefactors braving our tribunals with the ironical promise of bringing home monkeys on their return as presents to their judges! For the prospect of winter quarters near Labrador might neither offer any ground for attraction, nor any subject for joking.

We have been further induced to recommend this northerly dependence for a place of penalty and purgation, by the very remarkable and salutary influence which

the contiguous climate of Nova Scotia seems to exercise upon the *morale* of persons inhabiting that country, which can boast the pre-eminent distinction of being destitute of a criminal calendar : any grave offences against the law being altogether unknown in that colony. Similar subduing effects of climate, in contra-distinction to the criminal excesses incidental to hot climates, is impressively conspicuous in the social condition of Iceland, which may fairly be termed a crimeless country. The people of the latter nation once possessed, as one of the necessary attributes of civilization, a building designed for a gaol ; but which superfluous edifice has long since been converted into a residence for the Governor : an appropriation warranted by the notable fact that, for a period of *two hundred* years, only *four* capital convictions have been recorded there : the last of which, dating more than a century back, was visited upon the guilt of a peasant, sentenced to death for the murder of his wife ; but for whom an executioner could not be found in the country : for it was found necessary to convey him to Norway, there to fulfil his doom. That this is a frequent accompaniment of reduced temperature is evident from the unfrequency of capital crime in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark ; where death, at the hand of justice, is an incident so rare, that it is wont to strike a whole country with lasting horror ; and where it still continues a matter of extreme difficulty to procure an executioner to perform the odious duty.

In the progress of such a colony we should have to apprehend the jealous, intriguing, and greedy concupiscence of no rival power. The proximity of England would operate as an effectual guard against all interference from without ; while our continued superiority in

numbers, climate, and productions would always perpetuate our influence and ascendancy over our subjects in this quarter. At the same time, necessity, parent of industry and invention, would no doubt stimulate those new colonists to supply, by activity and enterprize, the want of natural advantages ; so that with all the objections which have been sedulously encouraged by interested parties against settlements at this point, we might live to see this land become one of our dearest and most valuable dependencies.

Instead of a six months' passage to Van Diemen's Land, and the expense necessary to accommodate and equip convicts for so long a voyage, we could transport them to the Gulf of St. Lawrence in eight days' run, at the cost of two or three pounds sterling ; and provision them there, as already stated, through the medium of Canada, and the internal resources of the country itself, for a mere modicum of the sum imposed by their present condition.

But ere we conclude this chapter, we must not forget to remind the reader that we have not suggested this latter scheme as an absolute feature of our original project, having digressed into it merely to demonstrate means by which the convicts required for the first plan of the railway might be finally provided for by a second in connexion. We felt, too, an obligation to obviate the objections which might be taken to our silence on this point, as well as to render our whole plan, as far as possible, in all its provisions, complete. There are other localities, however, adapted for the reception of our banished culprits, to which we may refer elsewhere ; but here we must lay a concluding emphasis on the fact that we possess an opposite parallel coast,

stretching for thousands of miles, without an inhabitant : a bare unguarded wilderness, which we must pass before we can reach, by ordinary means, the civilized prosperity which its nakedness bounds ; and which should constitute the back-bone and support of the Canadas, now our advanced post, and, alas ! our weakest point.

Is not this an exhibition to expose us to odium and bitter ridicule ? Is it not the part of the selfish and greedy dog in the manger, which we thus exemplify, by holding territories, that we neither people ourselves, nor permit others to occupy ; although either France, Holland, Germany, or Prussia, would accept them with eagerness, and cultivate them through all their resources, up to the highest point of prosperity ? But we, with thriving provinces within its interior, and ourselves but a few days' distant, permit this coast to remain in melancholy contrast with the American line of flourishing ports and redundant population which meets it : a despised and unknown appurtenance, abandoned to the original savage state in which we first discovered it : an infant empire, ceded as the hunting ground of a partnership *clique* of privileged traders ?

CHAPTER IX.

CONVICT GUARD.

As a regular and immediate guard appointed to contain and constrain this body of convict labourers under safe custody and obedience, by constant duty over their prisons and persons, we propose the enrolment of a legion of 5,000 men, to be designated the "Pioneer Rifle Guards;" this body to be composed of volunteers, invited from the most active and able-bodied members of our pauper community: to be engaged for a period of three years, under a guaranteed pledge of an allotment of cleared land at the expiration of its term of service. To qualify these men as candidates for the benefits derivable from admission into this body of "Pioneer Rifle Guards," we propose it should be a conditional stipulation, that they should release their respective parishes from all claim of future aliment, by compounding for a sum amounting to the value of three years' parish allowance: that amount to be applied to the purpose of their maintenance and support; while earning, by their three years' probationary service as Pioneer Guards, the independent right of freehold possession. The money, thus accepted in commutation from the parishes, ought to be formally guaranteed by their parish guardians and paid by certain regular instalments, under penalty, into the Government Exche-

quer: Government being bound in return for such sum to furnish the said recruits with military equipments, clothing, and rations, of the same description, quality, and amount, as those usually allowed to soldiers in the regular service.

This body of men, the "Pioneer Rifle Guards," we propose to divide into seven regimental corps: each bearing the number and name of the respective division to which it might be attached, and in which the allotments of lands appointed for its members would lie; so that the three years in question would afford the recruit the benefit of gradual inurement to the climate, and the opportunity of acquiring ample and useful knowledge of the district in which he would be ultimately settled. We propose, from the nature of the country, and for the peculiar duties to which they would be destined, that such corps should be armed, clothed, and drilled according to the rifle system; and that a company of each should be mounted on the light horses of the country, for the better conveyance of orders along the line, and to facilitate the pursuit of fugitives. With this embodiment in view, it will be better understood why we propose to designate these corps "Pioneer Rifle Guards."

We likewise suggest that the officer appointed to command those forces be selected in preference from among such candidates on the half-pay list as might be inclined to commute their claims on Government, in consideration of grants of cleared land bestowed in quantities proportioned to their rank: their three years' service, at the same time, to be paid pending its duration, at the usual rate of full-pay: the same rule to be observed towards the composition and provision of officers non-commissioned.

For the indispensable inculcation of discipline by example, we propose that, with each five pauper recruits, a pensioned soldier should be incorporated, upon the same general terms offered to the latter; or, in case he should choose to commute with Government for his pension, that an adequate allotment of extra-cleared land should be granted in satisfactory indemnity. We propose further that the whole force should possess the general option of claiming an extra extension of land, each in proportion to his rank, upon condition of holding by military tenure—that is, subscribing to the liability of being called out, as a local militia force, whenever cases of emergency should demand their service.

We propose that the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, be permitted, if married, to carry at once their wives and families along with them; and that the same favour might at first be accorded to a certain number of the most approved privates of each corps; until the privilege could be gradually extended to others, in proportion as accommodation could be conveniently provided, and the good conduct of the soldiers would deserve such indulgence.

The duty of these troops would be to secure the prisons, escort the labourers, and guard the line of works. In order to place these corps, which would thus be composed of future landholders, upon the most respectable footing, we propose that every prudent and judicious indulgence should be accorded consistent with their duties; the heaviest punishment for military offences to be summary dismissal from the force and compulsory return to their English settlements; or, for graver crimes, condemnation to forced labour with the convicts.

At the expiration of their term of service and consequent instalment on the land allotted to them, we propose that Government should issue to each discharged recruit, tickets entitling him to six months' full rations; and on second application to six months' half rations, together with certain necessaries and implements, should such be required; the value of the whole of these articles and provisions so advanced to be refunded by instalments under penalty of forfeiture of land in proportion to the debt thus contracted with Government; or with, or in lieu of, such provision and necessaries advanced, one year of their parish commutation money might be transferred to them from the Exchequer, to serve their need upon taking possession of their land; but to be paid by instalments to prevent improvident dissipation of the sum, or the temptation to return to this country.

In addition to a proper complement of engineer-officers, fully competent and instructed in the whole general and particular plan of the works, we propose that a certain number of artificers might be attached to each corps, for the advantage of the men and instruction of the convicts.

Between each division, and moving constantly in parallel with them, we propose the employment of an irregular body of Canadian woodmen and Indians as aforesaid, to scour the country and arrest all fugitives—civil, military, or convict—found wandering beyond a certain distance from the line of works without a pass.

The object in selecting recruits for this force from the number of able-bodied paupers, dependent upon our parishes, is first, to spare expense, which a general enlistment for this service would otherwise necessitate; and secondly, because, although such corps, if entirely composed

of pensioned veterans enrolled under prospect of future settlement in commutation of pay, might in the beginning be preferable in point of economy and superior efficiency ; yet, as such pensioners would necessarily be in advanced life, they would soon cease to be eligible for the duties required, and thereby demand, ere long perhaps, the recruiting of a fresh force ; while younger men, though less experienced in military practice from their being trained in so unwarlike a school, would continue, of course, longer available as an effective militia.

But lest, indeed, the employment of a regular force be considered more conducive to the end we propose, than the raw description of troops which, for the sake of economy, we thus recommend, we suggest that those men be invited in preference to enlist, who have been last discharged by the reduction of our army ; and who must now, being cast loose upon the world without resource, and spoiled for every other occupation, become chargeable to the public in some form more expensive and objectionable than their military employ—a consequence the economists but little calculate. And more particularly we would recommend enlistment from the distressed body disbanded from our Rifle force, as better adapted for all the purposes in view ; and this we would urge before these active and exemplary troops be dispersed beyond the power of again assembling them in all the freshness of their recent *esprit de corps* and excellent discipline.

In proof how abundantly the nation could supply a military force of this description, and how opportunely the measure would lighten the pressure in a quarter especially grievous, the reader will best judge when we remind him that the full-pay retirement of sub-

alterns alone costs the country the annual sum of £56,000; the half-pay list, £400,000; and our out-pensioned privates, in this year of 1850, no less an amount than £1,233,711. How many of the officers and soldiers, thus hanging a dead-weight on the public purse, and so oppressively felt, while still so inadequately provided for, are yet capable of all the duties such service in Canada would require? And how many would be but too happy to exchange their hard-earned privilege to a grudging and miserable pittance, for a comfortable and permanent settlement, promising more than sufficient for all their wants, and offering, at the same time, a field for the employment of their time, and, together with it, means and opportunity, with the assistance of their families, of even attaining the highest state of prosperity? Or, should there be too many candidates for enlistment from this body—which we confidently anticipate—or a great many disinclined to resume military duties regimentally incorporated, those, with a little preliminary instruction, might be beneficially distributed throughout the different divisions along the line in the capacity of sappers, and would contribute not a little to promote order and regularity by their example of customary obedience.

CHAPTER X.

CIVIL FENCIBLES.

NUMEROUS and burthensome as is the convict mass, from which our project would relieve the State, the class we are now engaged upon, viz., that of paupers, is still more oppressive, and far more perplexing, by their enormous amount and idle dependence upon the public and private resources of this country: of their distressing weight we propose, also, on a much larger scale, to rid the country, while helping them, at the same time, to their redemption, and the dignity of a self-supporting existence, by combining them as a principal portion of the working body we would direct, by a grand system of organized labour, to the construction, peopling, and culture of the continuous and narrow belt of settlements, along whose centre the railroad should run from Nova Scotia to the Pacific.

In accordance with this plan, and seeing that we had about 60,000 *able-bodied* paupers in 1848 to provide for, we proceed to propose that a body of 60,000 labourers, or even a greater number, be drafted by voluntary enrolment from among the suffering poor of our most distressed counties; those dependent upon their parishes for subsistence to compound, after the example recommended for the pauper volunteers, in the preceding chapter. Or other candidates, who only verge on this

desolate state of pauperism, and do not intrude their struggling necessities on the public, might come well certified as to character and habits: the whole to be of approved health and strength. The term of engagement imposed upon all those parties ought, of course, to be limited, after the example of the Pioneer Rifle Guards, to three years: the whole to be equipped, clothed, and supported at the current rate of expense allowed for soldiers' habiliments and maintenance. Each of these volunteers, when accepted, would be required to subscribe a formal engagement, liberally framed in spirit, but stringent in provisions, by which they would bind themselves to perform the general and particular duties assigned to them on the line of works, so ordered as to render their allotted task one of moderate exertion. They would be required to subscribe, at the same time, to certain rules and by-laws conceived for their better regulation and comfort in community. While Government should engage, on the other side, to provide them, at the expiration of their fixed term of labour, with grants of land of not more than five acres per lot, if awarded along the railroad line of settlements, since the object of such provision would not be to enrich these industrial classes, but only to secure them a competence in connexion with the necessity of labour, of which there has always been a desolating dearth in Canada. This dearth has been owing to the universal enjoyment of exclusive proprietary rights, created in the inconsiderate sacrifice of land by prodigal donations, too long practised by our British Government at the expense of that country; and which has been productive of the principal evils of which Canada has had substantially to complain.

It is now for us further to propose, that when these indigent persons are thus regularly and conditionally

enrolled, portions of the Poor-law Union houses, or other appropriate buildings, should be thrown open, and converted into emigrant depôt barracks, for the purpose of forthwith forming detachments of these volunteers into regimental bodies, destined to labour throughout the whole of the Canadian line in co-operative connexion. This could only be effectually accomplished by subjecting them to such a preparatory system of general and particular discipline, and mutual dependence, as would tend at once to correct all irregular habits, and secure the most steady obedience and unanimity, by rendering it difficult, or next to impossible, for the idle, the unstable, the besotted, and the refractory, to damage and derange the systematic order and economy prescribed for the conduct of the public works. In further explanation of the motives which have determined us to recommend these various details of the organization we desire to introduce into our forms of railroad colonization, we boldly and unequivocally maintain that the curse of all young colonies is the custom of factious and presumptuous license, commonly assumed by the immigrant settlers, as if in sudden indemnity for the restraint under which they have been compelled to yield obedience to the laws and regulations of society in the maturer States of their original sojourn. For many, with a change of country, likewise change all the forms and institutions of their early training, and revenge the obscurity and insignificance which marked their condition at home, by courting importance and notoriety in a captious and refractory opposition abroad to every principle of such a government, as would repress their arrogance, and confine them to their appropriate and natural level. Others, irreconcilable to any country, but instinctively drawn back to that which in necessity or

caprice they have originally abandoned, labour only to return; and in the selfish, and sometimes unscrupulous, pursuits exerted to this effect, are utterly indifferent to the interests of the country and people, among whom they grub for fortunes. Others, entertaining a qualified love of their native country, which they themselves never before suspected, exaggerate the real or supposed superiorities of the land they have left behind, and wreak their discontent by odious comparisons at the expense of the tenderest feelings of self-respect and *amor patriæ*, cherished by the natives among whom they have sought an asylum. A fourth class, liberated from the observation of all whose opinions once kept them in check, abuse their acquired freedom to plunge into every vicious excess, encouraged in the glad consciousness of being altogether uncared for by the strangers who are spectators of their degradation. A fifth class seem to lose, with a change of country, all their former identity of character and conduct; and, gradually renouncing every orderly and industrious pursuit and generous ambition, sink into a vegetating state, too nugatory to be conspicuously bad, and too insipid to be good for anything, if they escape being tempted into the poacher-like pursuits of idle recreation and loose companionship which constitute the daily life of a colonial vagabond.

To the want of unity and orderly subordination amid persons of this ill-regulated character, obtruding their worthlessness upon new settlements, we are indebted for the slowness of progress we condemn in many of them, and often for the entire failure of others. The predominance of such melancholy examples is nowhere more mischievously conspicuous, perhaps, than in Canada. There the refractory demagogue ejected from England, at vari-

ance with his mother country and a plague to the native inhabitants, snarls and bites in the inveterate and uncontrolled venom of democratic rage. There, peddling dealers in every dirty and nefarious traffic, disgracing the honourable character of their English country, disgust the generous nature of the old French settler, whose seignorial notions and manners of the *ancien régime*, redolent of *la vieille France*, is shocked to find the land of his fathers infected by the worst style of uneducated ignorance from a country to which, in truth, he was never too partial. Here, vulgar asserters of English pre-eminence render our character and name detestable by their impertinent assumptions of superiority and exclusiveness, at the expense of "*l'habitant*," or "*Jean Baptiste*," the *soubriquets* which they deridingly apply to the original settlers of the soil—a provoked sentiment which is repaid with interest: scorn for scorn, and hate for hate. Here, the idle and infatuated victims to a passion for field sports desert the pursuit of all respectable employment, to tramp the woods in hunger and in rags, more destitute of every personal comfort and appliance than is the English gipsy, who encamps upon our heaths and commons. Here British drunkenness, revelling in riot and disorder, rolls in the gutter, diverted from labour, and its recompense in prosperity, by the temptations of whiskey at eleven-pence per gallon—a price which has rendered inebriation so universal that the consumption of ardent spirits in Canada has been computed at no less than five gallons annually for every inhabitant—an excess which will be best estimated, when we inform the reader, that in our own country, so proverbially odious for intemperance, the consumption of spirituous liquors is only calculated at 0·69 of a gallon for each person in England; 2·16 for Ireland;

and for douce and demure Scotland, 2·10 : total, for the United Kingdom, 1·65 for each individual annually.

To maintain, on the contrary, the migratory legions we would direct to Canada, intact and in orderly and industrious habits, is with us a paramount consideration. Therefore—before landing them in a country infected with so much contagious discontent and sedition, so much bush vagrancy and swinish drunkenness, prevalent because so cheap, and where seductions to desert are so actively insinuated by covert agents of a rival State—we advocate the expediency of regulating the emigrant body we would enrol, by preparatory training under such a system of enforced obedience to wholesome government, as should best promise to ensure the due exertion and good conduct of every member of the expedition. It is to secure them from disaffection, deter them from excess, and prevent them from desertion, that we propose these pauper labourers should also assume a military form of constitution, and submit to be enregimented, officered, uniformly clad, and even partially drilled ; without such form and observance, however, being allowed materially to affect their civil character, or interfere with the proper freedom of their general private habits, the innocent use of their leisure time, and their customary manner of performing their work. From those who would demur to this part of our proposition, we would ask, if they ever heard of the military colony called “*Compagnies des Cantonistes*,” established with so much success in southern Russia by the late emperor ? If they ever saw the civil and military duties efficiently combined in the “*Garde Nationale*” of France, or the “*Burger Guards*” of Germany ? If that will not suffice to prove the reconcilable duties of such a force, then let us point to our

own *Yeomanry*, so exemplary for peaceable and industrious lives in their civil capacity, and so earnest and effective in their military character, when occasionally summoned for service under arms. Or, should a stronger instance be required, we are enabled to point to one which should dispose of every objection at once, in reference to the satisfactory working of our plan in connexion with the very flower and *élite* of our British artizans—we allude to the workmen employed in our dockyards, regimentally incorporated, and composing a choice force of ten thousand men, who do not find their military duties detrimental to their civil pursuits, or obstructive of their recreative indulgence or domestic comfort.

Fully satisfied ourselves of the efficiency of such a plan, supported by the example of so many approved precedents, we propose that this band, composed of 60,000 pauper labourers, and others equally indigent, be divided into six divisions, to be denominated "Civil Fencibles," and to be generally distinguished by their locations. These should again be subdivided into smaller corps appointed to separate sections of the divisions already named, with the exception of the Mountain Division, upon which this portion of the labouring force should not be employed. These sectional corps or regiments would be numbered, and named after the immediate locality upon which they should be stationed: as, 1st, Corps or legion, Atlantic Division; 2nd, Corps or legion, Quebec Division, &c.; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, &c., Corps of the Lake Division; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, &c., Corps, Central Division, and so forth. We moreover propose that these enrolled bodies, composed of 10,000 men each, should be instructed in the first elements of military exercise and

manceuvres; but in a somewhat smaller degree, be it observed, than is common to similar bodies of civilians, which compose our yeomanry or dockyard corps, our train-band volunteers, or the continental civil military bands we have mentioned, or even the militia of the United States, or those already actually enrolled in Canada. We also propose that these corps be officered in the same manner as regiments of the regular army; the officers to be men of approved character, education, and talent, selected from every respectable profession in society; the preference to be given to old pensioned officers, willing to commute for land: whilst non-commissioned officers might be composed of persons holding various grades in society, care being taken to prefer those who, from their peculiar callings, would be likely to benefit an infant colony by their respective trades, acquirements, and professions.

We propose that the salaries of the superior class should be only at the rate of army half-pay, proper to military officers who hold the same regimental rank; but that the rations and allowances be precisely the same as those usually enjoyed by officers in the army. It would be desirable that the services of the officers should, if possible, be procured without pay, adequate recompense in land being made to each according to his rank; and, as a further inducement, considerable reduction should be made in the price of lands which they might desire to purchase, and that certain privileges, immunities, and exemptions, connected therewith, should be awarded in consideration of service, when such officers should, on the completion of their term, engage in the civil pursuits which an increase of population would soon originate in those settlements. The colonel-director of each of those civil regiments ought to be

invested with the office and authority of a magistrate, and entrusted with the temporary duty of holding a court, composed of a board of officers, to settle such minor disputes, and punish such petty offences, as might occur within his sectional jurisdiction ; but any important question at issue, or transgression of extraordinary gravity, should be referred to the central board, at the headquarters of the division to which his particular corps might be attached. Offenders in very flagrant cases would be handed over to the authorities of Montreal or Quebec, who, to prevent impediments to labour or expense to the Government, might order the circuit of the line to be made by judicial authority, deputed, under periodical commission, to administer justice. The most serious offences (not capital) ought to be punished by degradation to force-labour, in divisions apart from that of their original appointment.

We propose that the privates, forming such corps of pauper-labourers, denominated " Civil Fencibles," should be furnished with precisely the same quantities and quality of rations as are issued to the soldiers of the regular army ; and that, to render them efficient for the service in view, they should be comfortably and appropriately clothed with garments adapted to their labours, the climate, and the seasons ; light in summer, but warm in winter, and all, in fashion and colour, of a sufficiently becoming description ; over which, when occasion required, they would wear their military accoutrements. To this end we would recommend the clean, comely, and commodious blue linen-blouse common to the peasantry in Belgium, with very loose canvass trousers for the warm months ;* and during the latter part of the year, frocks of that homespun-grey which is generally worn by the

* *Vide* illustration.

Canadian labourers during winter ; together with the other articles of dress which are prevalent in Canada during the cold season, as being most appropriate and cheap.

After undergoing a summary training in sections in England, for which purpose various places in different localities should be appointed, we propose that the transports should be conveyed for embarkation to certain general depôts on the coast ; there to be incorporated in their full efficiency as regimental corps, each under their respective officers ; and there also, in contemplation of their ultimate collective and separate utility, the members of these bodies ought to be classed as follows. First, having allotted 10,000 men to each regimental corps of the different grand divisions of this general "Civil Fencible Force," we propose to range the married and unmarried in separate classes, permitting a certain number of the former to be accompanied by their wives and families ; the rest of their married comrades to be equally entitled to the company of their wives and children as soon after their arrival at their destination as proper homes can be prepared for their reception ; and that the unmarried portion of the force shall be allowed, after time and preparation, to receive a father, a mother, or even a sister into their homes. All these followers ought to be conveyed to Canada without charge to themselves, and a proper quota of rations allowed for their maintenance during a given time ; the expense of which should be refunded by instalments deducted from the wages of the Civil Fencible, commencing with his third year ; or might become payable, by small annual sums, out of the proceeds of the land granted to him.

We likewise propose to divide the general body of volunteers into lesser companies ; and these, again,

into two distinct classes—namely, agriculturists and artisans; the first to comprise a body of about 500 men, who should be furnished with all the necessary implements of husbandry; the second composed of the same number, to be likewise supplied with proper instruments and tools requisite for the exercise of their respective trades; such implements to be given to the men at their respective places of destination. Immediately over the agricultural class, we propose that such officers should be appointed as might be judged best qualified by their education and past pursuits, in direct or indirect connexion with agriculture, to appoint and conduct the labours of the field; and over the artisan class, such as might be deemed most conversant with the nature and best application of their respective arts and callings. Each corps to be constituted from its various elements in the following proportions:—

Husbandmen	.	.	.	.	.	500
Carpenters	.	.	.	.	.	100
Joiners	.	.	.	.	.	60
Smiths (and Farriers)	.	.	.	.	.	40
Bricklayers	.	.	.	.	.	40
Masons	.	.	.	.	.	40
Painters and Glaziers	.	.	.	.	.	20
Wheelwrights	.	.	.	.	.	20
Harness-makers and Saddlers	.	.	.	.	.	20
Bakers	.	.	.	.	.	15
Butchers	.	.	.	.	.	15
Gardeners	.	.	.	.	.	20
Tinmen and Braziers	.	.	.	.	.	10
Tailors	.	.	.	.	.	20
Shoemakers	.	.	.	.	.	40
General labourers	.	.	.	.	.	40

Each subordinate company to consist of 1,000 men.

The number of women and children permitted to embark with them to be limited to about six hundred.

To each of these companies, when located, we propose that a grist-mill, a saw-mill, a forge, and medical dispensary, with all their proper accessories, be attached: that each corps should be furnished with two chaplains, one surgeon, and one assistant surgeon, two school-masters, and two assistants: that the head-quarters of each corps should be distinguished by a chapel, a hospital, a library, and public reading-room. Above all, comfortable and spacious workshops and sheds would be necessary: also wood-yards, fit for the prosecution of the various trades that might be followed within doors, during the time when the winter severity might interrupt labour in the open air.

For the successful working of a similar system of organization and discipline, conceived for the regulation of combined popular labour, let us refer to the method observed under French direction, with the working bands engaged to repair the injuries of war sustained in Rome during the last memorable siege of that city: an organization of labour which had for its second object an immediate provision for the starving poor, thrown out of work by the reign of anarchy which so long suspended the course of general labour at Rome. For the repairs which were thus, in charitable expediency, assigned to the Roman populace, which were termed "Works of Benevolence," organized gangs were constituted as follows:—the labourers were divided into bodies or companies of 500 men each, headed by one director, attended by five assistants; while each company was officered by twenty-five sergeants and fifty corporals, under whose guidance and inspection the most perfect unanimity and persevering industry was observed, until the restoration of the ruined edifices and battered

walls was accomplished with a rapidity so effective that in an incredibly short space of time the city scarcely exhibited a vestige of its recent bombardment. The form pursued in this mode of labour afforded Government full time and opportunity to relieve itself from the embarrassment of turbulent throngs of unemployed workmen, wandering, for lack of labour, about the streets; and who, by this arrangement, have long passed, by gradual distribution, into the various channels of their usual and particular avocations.

Napoleon, universal Genius of organization, for some extraordinary purpose never to this day satisfactorily explained—(but shrewdly suspected to have been with reference to the prosecution of an experimental system, conceived in the contemplated invasion of India with an overwhelming force at some future period)—caused each soldier of the Portuguese legion he retained in garrison in the south of France to be taught some such handicraft or trade as was more immediately in demand for the common convenience of society. This military body was thus trained to combine the productive skill of the artizan with the martial efficiency of the soldier, until the whole presented the semblance of an armed and moving city, ready to sit down anywhere upon their march, in perfect and complete citizenship, independent of every supply, save the raw material of necessaries. In faint imitation of these, we propose that the incorporated labourers, collected in the manner described for embarkation at certain depôts on the coast, shall be at once publicly trained for the proposed expedition; so that we may thus have the opportunity to correct every irregularity and abuse in administration, method, and arrangement, at the very commencement of the forma-

tion of the body, and thereby assure ourselves, beforehand, of the smooth and harmonious working of its whole social machinery. We shall thus likewise save ourselves from the mortification so frequently experienced by the failure of colonizing schemes, principally occasioned by mal-administration, defective systems and improvident neglect ; and particularly guard the emigrant from the prevalent habits of intemperance, sedition, and disorder in Canada, to which we have already alluded.

The men, besides being thus rendered generally comfortable before their departure, would be assured a certainty of success ; whilst he guarantees which would thus be presented, and the facilities thus afforded, could not but soon swell the amount of volunteer forces far beyond the greatest numbers we should probably require. For their conveyance, as many Government vessels as might be conveniently spared should be commissioned for a service so beneficial to the country.

As an indispensable measure, preliminary to all these arrangements, we take it for granted that a well-conducted and accurate survey, connected with the grand line of railroad, should first be made from its extremes to its centre ; and that the officers entrusted with the performance of this duty should comprehend in their reports, not only every topographical feature, such as the aspect of the countries near the immediate route, the qualities of soil, apparent capabilities and actual produce, but all engineering difficulties. The survey should be connected with an extensive reference to the districts lying to a considerable distance on either side the line ; along which the surveyors should, at the same time, mark the best sites for stations, townships, block-houses, and termini.

In pursuance of this object, the officers might engage, in the first instance, the assistance of a body of guides from among the trappers and hunters accustomed to traverse these countries; and as soon as the land should be marked, and the lines of road clearly traced, a stronger body, competent to the purpose, might be recruited from the same hardy and intelligent class in Canada, to take possession of the line and occupy opening stations; conveying with them the necessary stores and provisions to certain points of the line, where preparatory depôts and magazines should be established previous to the arrival of the expedition. These hunters and native woodmen should, as speedily as circumstances would allow, be joined by select detachments picked from the most active and enterprising of the body of emigrant labourers. At the cities and towns nearest the stations to which these advanced detachments should be appointed, competent authorities should deliver to their charge, such vehicles, cattle, and machinery, as might be required along the line; to be retained at the various appointed stations, where the detachments should be posted; the first to serve as purveyors, guides, drivers, and navigators; the second, being refreshed by rest, and duly instructed in the various localities, to assist the successive bodies of the expedition as they arrive. Preparatory to each successive arrival, the whole of these advanced labourers should be occupied in the erection of temporary log-barracks, constructed at the different stations distributed through each division of four hundred miles, ranging east and west from a centre, and twelve and a half miles apart from each other, as portrayed on a scale of the projected railroad, to which we shall presently more fully advert.

These preliminaries being thus arranged, the different

divisions of "*Force Labourers, or Convicts,*" should be consigned to the armed custody of the "*Pioneer Rifle Guards.*" These guards and prisoners ought to be divided into two separate divisions for embarkation: the one for entry into Canada by the Atlantic: the other, by the circumnavigation necessary for entry by the Pacific ports of New Georgia; but, as the latter voyage would require several months for its performance, the corps appointed to this separate transit should be despatched on the earliest occasion, so as to reach the De Fuca Straits simultaneously with the arrival of the other division of Pioneer Rifle Guards and convict prisoners at Halifax. These latter should be retained in depôt till the given time allotted for this circuitous passage should expire, when they also should proceed to the eastern parts of the line. A small detachment, however, might, with permission of the provincial government, be instantly dispatched to temporary stations in hulks, or prison-barracks, at Halifax, there to be in readiness to serve and assist at certain separate and distinct landing-places, in delivering the transports as they should arrive; and to expedite and stow the various objects of material and stores, shipped thither for the use and accommodation of the settlers, and labourers of the Atlantic Division, No. 1. Another party of the same force, for similar purposes, might be dispatched to Quebec, permission of the authorities being first obtained, to inhabit river hulks or guarded barracks on shore, to be ready to assist in the disembarkation of the expedition on both banks, east and west.

Here, for the sake of perspicuity, it is necessary to remind the reader that, in our sixth chapter, we distinguished our projected line of railroad, from Halifax

to the Georgian Gulf, into seven grand divisions, called, "The Atlantic Division," No. 1; "Quebec Division," No. 2; "Lake Division," No. 3; "Central Division," No. 4; "Prairie Division," No. 5; "Mountain Division," No. 6; "Pacific Division," No. 7; and that the collective body of operatives, intended to prosecute the works in connected labour, should likewise be divided into seven portions; to be designated after the particular names and numbers applied to the line of road upon which they should be engaged.

We have now further to suggest that each of these divisions of railway track, extending over an average distance of 400 miles, be again subdivided into two grand sections, to be distinguished by the relative position they should both hold as to their common centre, such as section East, or section West, of such and such a Division: the extreme station of each of these grand sections of the seven divisions to be called its terminus East, or terminus West, according to its direction from the centre: each of these sections would thus, consequently, mark a distance of 200 miles, from its terminus to the central post or head-quarters of the division; and as all these grand sections would be uniform in the distribution of the several stations or posts into which they should be divided, and each distant, as nearly as possible, twelve and a half miles from each other, a description of one scheme of a section must necessarily comprehend a description of the whole. The subdivision of each of the grand divisions would be marked by thirty-two stations, including the two distinct sections, each comprising sixteen of these stations.

We next propose to distinguish all these stations alphabetically, and according to their bearing from the

centre: begging, at the same time, that the reader, in order to understand us more clearly, will refer to the scale which marks this arrangement, as depicted on our map; and that he will begin his investigation with the object inscribed "Central Post," or "Head Quarters:" then travel to the first small house or minor station to his right, which, by the conventional map-rules of geographers, supposes the east; and which object he will find marked A. station, E.—(*E.* for East.) Next, he will find a church, marked, B. station, E.: then another small house, or minor, marked C. station, E.: a tower marked Log Fort, No. 2, E.; then a minor D. station, E.: the next a church, E. station, E.: then a minor, F. station, E.; and immediately after these are buildings with a flag, marked Mid-term. E. He will come next to another minor, marked G. station, E.: then to a church, H. station, E.: next, to another tower, marked, Log Fort, No. 1, E.; then to a minor, marked J. station, E.; next a church, marked K. station, E.: then a minor, L. station, E.; and lastly to a dome with a flag, marked *term.* for terminus E.

If the reader will then return by an inverse process, from terminus E., to the middle object of the division, composed, as aforesaid, of two grand sections, called Eastern and Western, he will find all the distances marked in connexion with each object we have just enumerated; and having thus run a glance back again over the same line to the centre, or "Head Quarters," he will find the same order of objects, and distances, observed on the left range of figures, with the difference of the initial W. (for West), inscribed upon each, until he arrive at the final terminus, marked *term.* W., which completes the whole series of stations allotted to one division, or the 7th portion of the whole line.

In this place, however, it would seem indispensable for us to observe, that it is of the most imperative consequence, that every station, or settlement in a new country, be established on the immediate banks of some river or lake; for the sake of water, floatage, irrigation, and navigation when attainable; and that the necessity of selecting such sites, together with accidents of impracticable land in some spots, may compel occasional deviations from the rule of precise and exact distance to be observed between each post or station; although at the same time we insist that no consideration should induce any very considerable departure from the distances our plan would prescribe. The necessity of infringement on this rule, however, is likely to prove less frequent in Canada than in any other land in the world; and an examination of the map will satisfy the reader how studiously our plan has been adapted so as to benefit by the favourable disposition of nature, with respect to the distribution of her lakes and rivers, in the direction of our projected line. Superstition might almost suppose this was intended for the purpose of favouring some such scheme of passage across the face of the whole territory.

Corresponding with the distinctions we recommend in the disposition of space, we propose that each operative body engaged in the public labours of the separate divisions of the line be divided into four distinct detachments or corps, marked each by a different letter selected from the first four characters of the alphabet; these corps to be distributed as follows, upon each of the two grand sections composing a division:—Corps A. and B. always at section E.—Corps E. and D. always at section W. All these to work in the following direction—Corps A. at term. E. westward, towards a junction with corps B. at

mid-term. E. Corps B. to work eastward to meet it. Corps C. to work westward, towards a junction with Corps E. at mid-term. W. ; and Corps E. at term. W. to work westward to meet it. For easier elucidation, we refer to the marginal figures on the map, in which the simple order of this system of labour will be found intelligibly defined.

Assuming our easy plan to be clearly understood up to this point, we next propose that the Atlantic Division of the emigrant body, composed of its equal complement of four Corps, A. B. C. and D., with their quota of Force Labourers, under charge of the Pioneer Rifle Guards attached, should be divided into two parts, Corps A. and B., to be landed at Halifax, there to take possession of the eastern section of No. 1 Division ; where Corp A. should leave a party instantly to break ground in progress westward, and the rest pass with Corp B. forthwith into the interior : taking posts at the various stations appointed on their way, till their number be disposed of, according to the amount allotted to each section. Meantime, Corps C. and D. being conveyed, *via* the St. Lawrence, to Quebec, should break ground at that city, and proceed to occupy the different posts upon the line, till the western section of No. 1 Division, being also duly manned, the advance bodies on both sections should meet at their "Central Post," or "Head Quarters," the whole proceeding forthwith to operate East and West, according to the plan submitted.

Meantime, the labouring force appointed to No. 2, or Quebec Division, being conveyed to the latter city by the St. Lawrence, should land two of its corps, A. and B., on its west bank ; and, after establishing their eastern

terminus there, in connexion with Quebec, proceed in the same order to their different stations westward, in the same order observed by the Atlantic Division advancing in the same direction from Halifax. Without any halt, Corps C. and D. of this Quebec Division (No. 2) should pursue their route by the Ottawa, to their western terminus, appointed upon Lake Tamiscaming; whence, after leaving the number destined for that post, the rest should return eastward, manning the different stations on their march, till their advance formed a junction with that of Corps A. and B. of their division, at their "Head Quarters," or "Central Post." The whole to direct their labours east and west as already by the rule laid down.

Next, the Lake Division (No. 3), being also shipped direct to the St. Lawrence, should attach their Corps A. and B. by the Ottawa, to Lake Tamiscaming, there to establish their eastern terminus in conjunction with the western terminus of the Quebec (No. 2) Division; and then advance westward with the usual order and observance to their central post; while the other Corps of their division, C. and D., should proceed by Lake Superior to their western terminus at Lake St. Anne; where, after posting their western terminus, they should march eastward along their line, manning all the stations, till their junction, at their central post, with the Corps A. and B. of their division: advancing to meet them from Lake Tamiscaming.

Meanwhile, the two Corps A. and B. of the Central Division (No. 4) should be directly despatched by Lake Superior to Lake St. Anne, there to join the eastern terminus with the western terminus of Lake Division (No. 3): while Corps C. and D. of the same division

should land at or near Fort William ; and part march northward in order to strike the line of their division in the centre, and meet the advance of Corps A. and B. from Lake St. Anne ; while the residue of Corps C. and D. should make for the left section of the division, till they should reach Fort Garry, where they would form their western terminus ; and the whole being connected, work their division according to the general scheme.

Meantime, No. 5, the Prairie Division, proceeding by the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, should land all its Corps, A. B. C. and D., at Fort William, and march collectively forward, by the ordinary route in present use, till they should attain their eastern terminus at Fort Garry, there to form a junction with the western terminus of the Central, or No. 4, Division ; and whence, in conformity with the rule generally observed by all the rest, the Prairie Division would advance to its western terminus at the base of the Rocky Mountains.

The body composing the 6th Division should, as already premised, be exclusively composed of Force Labourers and their Guards ; the convicts assembled for this duty to be chosen from among the gravest offenders condemned to forced labour on these public works. These convicts, divided into two moieties of their force, should one part accompany the Pacific Division No. 7, by Cape Horn, and the Georgian Gulf, whence they should be immediately marched to the heights they would have to occupy, at different stations. The other half of this convict force, marched with the 5th or Prairie Division of Civil Fencibles, should enter the mountains at their eastern base, and there be posted at various stations in connexion ; till they should be enabled to form a junction with the section of their

division, that should meet them from the western side, as aforesaid.

Corresponding with these, the 7th, or Pacific Division, establishing its western terminus on the Georgian shore, would advance, in the usual order, occupying all the stations on its way, till it reached the western base of the Rocky Mountains, which would be its eastern terminus; and where instant measures should be taken, in conjunction with the Prairie Division, aided by the exertions of the Force Labourers located in the mountains, to open a facile and active connexion between the divisions of the line on both sides of the mountains, in order that the passage by Cape Horn, for all the ordinary purposes of communication and supplies, might be superseded as early as possible.

We have now to propose that, as soon as the different bodies composing the force destined to commence the railroad labours in earnest, should arrive at their appointed posts, which should be partially prepared for their reception by the Canadian precursors we have already recommended for this preparatory task, they should instantly bestir themselves to complete their accommodation, and run up log habitations, in number proportioned to the importance of each station, and constructed after a plan best calculated for immediate purposes; and yet sufficiently strong and secure to assure adequate shelter during the first winter.

Supposing all this to be effected, we have next to urge that no time should be lost in erecting grist and saw-mills, forges, wood-yards, workshops, magazines, and store-houses; while the artisans and tradesmen, bound to contribute the aid of their particular crafts and callings to the completion and comfort of these settle-

ments, should be instantly summoned to perform the various duties connected with their respective arts in the public behalf. At the same time, the husbandman should lose no time in clearing and cultivating the land in right line, east and west, immediately bordering the railroad track; so that as much of the soil might be dressed and cropped towards their future self-maintenance as might be possible at first starting. As these various bodies of "Civil Fencibles" (otherwise the pauper labourers), and "Pioneer Rifle Guards," with the "Force Labourers" (otherwise convicts), under their charge, could only arrive upon the scene of action at various periods after the month of April, and the out-door labour being only practicable till the month of November, it might for that cause be unreasonable to expect that any progress during the first season could be made, under the circumstances of a new settlement in a new country, in the actual construction of a railroad line. The attention of the expedition should, therefore, be chiefly, if not exclusively, confined to preparations for future operations and winter quarters: such as the completion of surveys, marking out townships, erection of habitations, storing and warehousing, plantation of vegetable gardens, and the indispensable construction and strengthening of military and convict barracks, winter provision and housing for cattle, and the collection of all the material necessary to supply employment for in-door labour during the winter months—such as machinery, timber, iron, and, in fine, all the requisites which these necessary and indispensable manufactures demand. Every occupation, however, which might be advantageously and conveniently exercised abroad ought to be promoted and provided for;

while it should be so ordered and directed that the whole community, thus preparatorily collected along the line, should be ready at every point to take the field with every means and appliance at the very first signal of the ensuing spring.

From the first period of their arrival at their appointed divisions, until the expiration of their three years' engagement, the members of the Civil Fencible body should be subject to muster, rank and file, under their proper officers, and in arms, at their respective posts, during a brief space of time every Saturday afternoon, for the purpose of inspection and a slight drill. All other labour ought to be suspended for that purpose; and none to be exempt from the performance of this weekly duty, except such as might assign and certify a satisfactory reason. In addition to this brief weekly muster, the whole force should be marched out monthly all along a separate section of the line for the purpose of general inspection and report; upon which occasion rewards should be publicly bestowed on the deserving, and censure passed upon those whose conduct should merit rebuke; so that constant attention to the necessity and advantage of preserving good morals and demeanour might become general among the force.

In addition to these military observances, we propose that the officers placed over these labourers be empowered to make domiciliary visits of inspection, from time to time, among the people under them, thereby to ascertain that nothing should be wanting to their comfort and convenience; and that no irregular or unseemly domestic habits would be allowed prejudicial to the persons and families of individuals, or calculated to propagate bad example among settlers generally.

We, moreover, propose that a register of the general and particular conduct of the settlers should be kept at every section for periodical inspection at Head Quarters, in which strict care should be taken that no report should be inserted, but with due authority, after deliberate consideration, and to which the signatures of responsible parties should be appended; and this in order to distinguish the meritorious, with a title to preference when opportunities for promotion should occur—such as eligibility to small offices or private trusts, preference in choice of land, &c. We likewise propose that prizes should be instituted, and periodically awarded, to such as would clear the greatest quantity of land in a given time, produce the largest crops, exhibit the neatest cottages and gardens, and so forth. In contrast with such a regulation, we propose that fines and privations be imposed upon all those, who, in a contrary spirit, persevere in wilful contempt of all these duties. We also most earnestly suggest that the use of all intoxicating liquors, in immoderate quantities, should not only be strictly prohibited, but severely punished; and that all brawling, gambling, and vagabond habits, should be repressed with the most uncompromising rigour. To this effect, considerable latitude should be accorded to authority, and its officers be empowered to watch and regulate the conduct of the people under them in every manner likely to check vice, and produce the greatest amount of good; a supervision not likely to be abused by persons destined so soon to set themselves down in fellow-citizenship with the very people over whom they would have to exert such duty. But while we would confide this faculty to official hands, we at the same time propose that every facility of appeal, un-

der certainty of prompt and impartial redress, should be fully afforded to every man against whom the smallest abuse of authority should be wantonly exercised. Still, the peculiar composition of this pauper body being duly considered, and the corrupting effects of the degrading condition from which they would have just emerged : together with the habits of reckless idleness so common with many of them, and the bias of turbulent defiance of authority so customary with these parish helots in the insolent and sometimes necessitated vindication of their wretched privileges, judicious treatment and a tight hand would certainly be required to suppress the time-implanted evil of years, and prepare them, by wholesome probation, to habits of submission, industry, and sobriety, for a fresh start in life in a new order of society. Thus the conscious debasement, which begets feelings of reckless disregard in the pauper state, would be exchanged at once for the proud sentiment impressed by a consciousness of the dignity and independence of freehold possession.

As multitudes of free settlers would, no doubt, incontinently hasten to profit by these clearings and the innumerable advantages presented to the agriculturist and mechanic, even at their very first stage of progress, every possible precaution should be taken, by wholesome regulations and liberal management, to encourage their increase and ensure their protection and comfort. For the attainment of this object, especial care should be taken to provide approved and efficient means of innocent and sober recreation for all classes, particularly in the winter season, thereby to prevent the discontent engendered by *ennui*, which so often disgusts emigrants with the course of life in new settlements, and provokes intemperance,

heartburnings, cabals and disputes, which drive so many settlers from Canada to the United States.

Before closing a chapter so circumstantially descriptive of the divisional arrangements projected for the emigrants employed, it will be necessary to revert once more to the subject of the Rocky Mountain division, and the doubtfulness which some people of morbid sensibility may entertain as to the practicability and humanity of maintaining a convict force in these high regions during the season of winter. For if our project afforded no other grounds, we feel that upon *this* point the ultra-sensitive "friends of misfortune" are most likely to make a stand against the "barbarous cruelty" of transferring the condemned of our gaols to such cold and lofty quarters. The "eventful and terrible," which are wont to season the accounts of all travellers as indispensable matter of effect when they come to their adventures amid this mountain chain, embolden philanthropists to condemn our mountain division, for *one half the year* at least; and this, without one thought of the snowy peaks of Mount St. Bernard; or the inhabitants perched upon the mountains of Norway and Sweden. Whilst there is a railroad from St. Petersburg to Moscow, now hastening to completion, intended to occupy thousands in active intercourse and gay travel at the very season the climate proved so fatal to the French victims of Napoleon's glory; and a similar railroad enterprize in project even at Archangel—although reflection, in reference to these, should suffice to vanquish the prejudice which we are naturally prone to entertain in relation to all countries the temperature of whose atmosphere, by thermometric comparison, seems less clement than our own. For, as we are liable to ex-

perience inconvenience during any extra descent of the mercury in our own British climate, we are prone, by hasty induction, to infer that a fall of the mercury to a point which would render the atmosphere intolerable to us, must necessarily, when depressed even to a very much inferior index in other regions, prove very injurious. However, the degree of cold which men may easily sustain in the absence of humidity, however incomprehensible to us, is a fact perfectly well known to travellers in the arctic regions, who, when clothed in furs, scarcely feel the frigidity of the atmosphere at all, even when a severity of cold causes the mercury to fall to a point we can scarcely picture to our imaginations. But it is the humidity of weather which is so fatal to the human constitution by its non-conductive properties: and this it is which renders us so much more susceptible than they are of so much less a degree of cold.

Now, the winters of the Rocky Mountain district, over which the line of our proposed route must run, are dry in proportion as they are gelid; and, though a permanent sojourn in this district might be thought impossible, still we know that, even inhospitable as it is, there are yet scattered tribes of aborigines tenacious of the soil, and well known for their activity and longevity, as well as health and physical proportions.

The same variations of our physical perceptions of climate, when exposed to a degree of cold marked by the thermometer at many degrees lower than ever occurs in our latitude, has been exemplified by European travellers at Pekin, and in the adjacent country of Japan, and other countries on the same parallel, where the thermometer often sinks far below zero. Thus, when the waters of China and Japan are frozen four or five feet

thick, the European stranger cannot detect the excess of frigidity until it is betrayed by the scale of the thermometer. Of course, this atmospheric extreme is nowhere altogether unattended with physical discomfiture, particularly when proper precautions are not taken, or in the case of strangers from a milder climate; and it is also true that the traveller, consulting merely the thermometer, and suffering in an unusual degree under its stringency, is apt to exaggerate the pain of his sensations, and wonder that his blood can circulate with its wonted vivacity; and straightway his journal, for the edification of European readers, becomes duly commemorative of his bodily trials and constitutional hardihood under an intensity of temperature that froze his drinking-cup.

We maintain by experience, founded on a considerable range of observation, that the earth is subject, nowhere on this side the arctic circle, to any regular degree of cold, at whatever season, which the British constitution cannot sustain, when provided with proper shelter and appliances. With warm lodgings, sustaining diet, comfortable clothing, and stimulating exercise, a body of stout Englishmen in the Rocky Mountains could surely weather the winter as well as the travellers by the Simplon, or the excavators of Mont Cenis. That forced labour amongst the Rocky Mountains would not be so gratifying to our criminals as to work out their time in England, we will not pretend to dispute; but yet we must insist that the sturdy culprits would be better there than in our dismal model-prison *oubliettes* at home; nor could they be more appropriately disposed of to subdue their devil, and awake contrition, unless justice

would substitute the halter, fast passing out of fashion, for the improvement and benefit of society.

In extenuation of such severity, however, we propose that none but the most flagrant and incorrigible offenders be consigned to these mountain labours; and that this doom be further mitigated by as much remission of hardship as can be prudently conceded. In consideration of any extraordinary pain of endurance to which such malefactors would be thus subjected, we propose that they should be consoled with occasional commutations whenever they had the good sense to persevere in deserving them. A more legitimate sympathy, however, might be entertained in behalf of the guards, and prison functionaries selected to accompany these malefactors in their bleak confine; but these could be reconciled by extra allowances and gratuities: a double portion of land at the end of their term in any other division they might prefer; or they might be rewarded with permanent employment on the railroad; while their duty might be relieved by alternate exchange of service every three months, or even less, with parties doing duty in the vallies. Or a part, or the whole of these guards, prison functionaries, and force labourers, might be altogether superseded by Canadians, hardened to the climate of the Hudson's Bay settlements; or by Indian natives and half-breeds properly trained and officered for the service.

CHAPTER XI.

SYSTEM OF LABOUR.

BEFORE we resume our details connected with the regulation and working of the line, it is necessary to recur for a moment to the exact course it will take, in order that the reader may accompany us through the map, and appreciate the advantage we have taken of the waters that present themselves in our way, and to divide our sections and allocate our stations.

First, then, the line of road being proposed at, or about, latitude 46° , and there being no question at present of possessory right independent of the British Crown, which (in a parenthetical whisper, let us remark) has never had, and never can have, the discretionary power to will away to individuals, or companies, territories appertaining to the nation entire, which has won them with its blood, and maintains them by a continual exertion of power and activity. No constitutional or monarchical authority can will away to any country, corporation or individual, native or foreign, that which the nation has conquered, or discovered. The power that makes charters can unmake them; and when such are iniquitously and injuriously granted, the revocation is a necessary duty of justice. How should we

act, if her Majesty conferred, by chartered rights, the Channel Islands upon the Corporation of Merchant Tailors, to have and to hold for ever? What should we say if the said Merchant Tailors should then object, if British subjects should pretend to a free footing in those islands? What should we say if the Merchant Tailors, upon the strength of a charter musty from age, and questionable in its origin—the after-dinner gift of capricious and unscrupulous levity in a prince, whose character and acts rendered odious all that arose from them—were coolly to dispatch a member of their Corporation to Paris, there, with open effrontery and in the teeth of proprietary right inherent in the people of these realms, to traffic and haggle for the sale of Alderney or Sark, as portions of their chartered possessions which they themselves did not choose to retain? Yet such things are—ay! and of such things we may have a word to say anon—not of groups of petty islets ambi-dexterously juggled from the public into the private pockets of tailors; but of regions of imperial magnitude, wrested from the nation by a scratch of the pen; while yet the nation is forced to watch over and protect the privileged, exclusive, and misused ap-panage of a copartnery of peltmongers.

Meantime, Sir George Simpson, we are told, is at present at New York, pushing a market for the sale of a portion of what is still facetiously termed the “British American Territories;” and this in exchange for the dollars of our excellent friends and supplanters on the Pacific, to whom a generous knot of princely chapmen presented gratis, for all we yet know of their secret inducements, the rich plains of the Missouri, the country of Astoria, and the noble Columbia River. We should not be astonished,

after this, some day to behold these emperors in private life, whose crown is their assurance, and their sceptre an umbrella, presenting in their disposal of continents, our friends of France with the Red River prairies. The Russian Autocrat might find an acceptable bargain in the sale of New Caledonia.

But *en route!* The measured distance by Mercator's projection from Liverpool to Halifax is 2,490 miles, and as the crow flies the distance is no more from Halifax to the Georgian Gulf. Allowing for inequalities of surface and divergencies, the direct breadth of the American continent, between the two ports mentioned, has been estimated at various amounts between 2,700 miles, to 3,000 miles; and a special survey is now the only means of determining the actual distance.

In the face of these contradictions (for no two maps agree), we are constrained to compute the distance just as the direct sea surface navigated by steam between England and the United States is measured—that is, by Mercator's projection corrected by references to the best globes. We thus confidently are led to believe that the distance from Halifax to the Georgian Gulf is no more than 2,490 miles; yet we have put it down at 2,800 miles, upon the semi-official authority of Mr. Twiss. We are warranted, however, in our acceptance of the shorter distance, by the simple criterion, that

	lat.	long.	miles.
Halifax from Liverpool is in .	45	60	2,480
Vancouver's Land . . .	46	120	2,480

—an admeasurement which singularly favours our equal

apportionment of the line of space into divisions of 400 miles each, to which we have already alluded :—

	Miles.
1. From Halifax to Quebec	400
2. From Quebec to the head of Lake Tamiscaming, or the Abbitibbe	400
3. From Tamiscaming to Lake St. Anne	400
4. From Lake St. Anne to Fort Garry, near the Red River settlement	400
5. From Fort Garry, to the fork of the Saskatchewan, lat. 51	400
6. From Saskatchewan Fork across the Rocky Mountains, allowing for considerable deviation from the straight line, should it be deemed necessary	400
7. From the Rocky Mountains to the Georgian Gulf	400
Total	2,800

Conducting our reader back to the commencement of our railroad track, and beginning with No. 1, "Atlantic Division," and starting westward from Halifax, he will find a series of waters intervening betwixt that city and Quebec. These waters are admirably disposed throughout to assist the scheme of a railway traversing this district; since they appear to occur in such an order and position as exactly to furnish excellent sites for stations. But, if they should in some degree, or even considerably, vary from their appearance as set down in the map, it need cause us no alarm. It is certain that several considerable lakes and streams will be found scarcely noticed at all, which will present capabilities even greater than those hitherto afforded by survey. Let us now proceed to an enumeration of the different waters and rivers as they now most favourably present themselves for our design. Between Halifax and Quebec,

we have the numerous headlands of the Bay of Fundy, and the streams that flow into the rivers Chaleur and St. John, which intersect the entire district. The waters that favour our arrangement betwixt Quebec and Lake Tamiscaming, are the Batiscombe, St. Maurice, Kempt Lake, Livre Lake, Grand Lake and House, and Tamiscaming. The waters by which we can benefit between Lakes Tamiscaming and St. Anne, are the head of Montreal River, Kinoogoomissee Lake, Maniton Wick Lake, or Montagume, Pike River Lake, or White River, Black River, Rabbit Lake and Pic River, and, lastly, St. Anne's. Those between Lake St. Anne and Fort Garry, starting from Nipigon Town on Lake St. Anne, are—Little Crow Lake, Swan Lake, and Sturgeon Lake ; Lake Sal, Large Lake (lower part), Rat Portage on Winnipeg River, and the Red River at Fort Garry. Between Fort Garry and the Rocky Mountains, we find the lower extremity of Manitoba Lake, Oak River, Rapid River, Bird's Tail Fort on the Assiniboine, the head of Quapelle or Calling River, the Elbow on the Saskatchewan ; and extending from the Saskatchewan westward, we pass by Chesterfield House to the fork of the Askow with the Sask River and Morcoowan's River. The waters between the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Strand are so numerous and well known, that we need only say, the line would pass by Flat Bow Lake, Upper Arrow Lake, Oakanagan Lake and River, to Fort Langley.

Supposing all these lakes and rivers to have been correctly delineated by the mappists, we would now confidently ask—should they indeed prove navigable, as we are assured the most of them are, and some of them admirably so—if, on the whole face of the earth, a more favourable course for a railroad line could

possibly exist? On this subject we can only invite the reader to contemplate the map.

The line should run without the smallest deviation, except such as the nature of the country would interpose, in a straight-forward course from Quebec to its final terminus on the Georgian Gulf; for, we must by no means suffer our complacency for the cities situated in the deep bight of Upper Canada to retard, for their provincial convenience, the direct traffic line of the whole world. Besides, the railroad which has just been commenced from Quebec to Melbourne, and which will run into the Montreal and Portland line, would supersede the necessity of making the southern sweep in question, by furnishing a branch line to the main trunk; while the cities of Upper Canada, being already so supremely favoured by the commerce of the canals, the lakes, and the St. Lawrence, could have no right to expect this additional acquisition, at the expense of speed and general interest.

Resuming our scheme of works, we submit that the system to be observed in the social economy and direction of labour, through the whole uniform and connected line, is intended, at the same time, to be perfect and entire in each division of itself; just as if it were independent and alone, although working in conjunction, and active communication with the consecutive train of divisions at both extremes—the governmental and executive method, arrangements, and population, being exactly the same in one as in all. We will adhere to the plan of selecting a division out of the seven—say, No. 4, or “Central Division,” as a specimen of all. As each division would work in intimate relation and support with the whole range of works simultaneously

proceeding east and west of its limits, so every sub-division and section of these should be conducted, both administratively and operatively, in faithful conformity to the general principle of the whole: thereby to preserve a pervading spirit of unanimity and intelligence through every department of the work, and enable authority to govern the entire line with as much ease as it might regulate and direct any separate and particular section.

In unison with the arrangements already submitted in our observations on the "Convict Force," a chief inspector of division, with a due complement of assistant engineers, might be appointed to each division, whose ordinary residence should be at the central station: thereby constituting that post the head-quarters of the division: his office to be assisted by the counsels and executive co-operation of the colonels-commanders attached to his division, who should periodically visit him, at short intervals, from the stations they should occupy east and west of his central quarters: carrying with them their reports, and bearing back with them his instructions. The line should be served throughout with a well-appointed commissariat, and properly organized train of waggon-drivers and mounted couriers: to keep up constant supplies and communication with every portion of the division, from the centre to the two termini.

Let us now digress to the general line for a moment, to propose that an inspector-general-in-chief should be appointed, in supreme authority over all these, whose head-quarters should be in the centre of the entire line; and whose duties should be aided by a board of scientific persons promoted to office near him, whose councils should be occasionally assisted by the periodical visits of

the various other chief inspectors of division, from each of the seven departments of the line, with whom means of communication by land and water should be immediately instituted. Every river and lake, of which there are so many intervening in the proposed course of the line, might be made available, to its full extent, by a liberal supply of serviceable boats for the transport of men and material, until the road should be completed.

We have already premised that each of the divisions should comprehend an average length of 400 miles; and should commence its noviciate with a complement of 6,800 men (including guards and superintendents), and 1,333 women—not too many, we presume, even as a primary instalment, when we consider the multiplicity of works and immensity of space which they would have to cover. Having detailed in our last chapter the projected distribution of these forces through the different sections of a division, we will now enter into some more particular minutiae connected with their allocation and direction.

Supposing the various forces to arrive on their allotted grounds, when favoured by summer and the natural dryness of the climate, so as best to encounter the discomfort of imperfect shelter until adequate habitations could be constructed—the convict body of “Force Labourers,” under charge of the “Pioneer Rifle Guards,” should always be detached in advance of the march of “Civil Fencibles,” and “Free Labourers,” furnished with a requisite supply of tents and camp equipage. After clearing the way, and removing impediments, the former ought to dress the selected ground for temporary encampment, and there pitching tents, and constructing other shelter, as commodiously as haste might permit, they

should again prosecute their own march in advance, leaving a guard behind them to receive the rear march into camp, and forward tents, baggage, and other material, necessary for the construction of encampments further on : they themselves being furnished with light tents and vehicles for their own accommodation.

Meantime, as soon as each body should be posted at its appointed station, and recovered from the fatigues of the journey, its members should immediately proceed to fell timber, if growing on the spot ; or to collect it, if the location should be bare of wood, from the boats and rafts floated to them by the rivers ; upon the banks of which, for this and other purposes, every station should, if possible, be situated. Thus governed by a given plan directed by competent overseers, all hands should be applied to the completion of their temporary villages or towns. The buildings, at first, ought to be only composed generally of double cabins of two compartments each, formed of rough logs, and "*chinked*" according to the custom of constructing such temporary dwellings in America. This term means stopping the interstices between log and log of the walls, or partitions, with mortar, clay, hair, moss, and other fibrous mixtures in use. These dwellings should be ranged in opposite rows, so close to each other on one side as to admit of a common roof to them all, which should be so abruptly sloped as to admit little or no snow to lodge : a construction by which the tenants of such cabins would have, as it were, a covered alley between them, under which they could work in bad weather ; while they could have an open space or street in front for general use ; with small plots for kitchen gardens to each cabin, in the centre, composed of narrow stripes, for which proper seeds should be furnished to the settlers.

Among the primary erections, which would thus occupy the forests and prairies along the line, we propose, that, in addition to the prison buildings, permanently constructed within the four "Log Forts" of each division, and to which allusion has already been made, slab-timber barracks, strongly stockaded, should be erected, at every principal and secondary station, for the occasional quarters of convicts in case of need. Or should this not be required in the works proceeding in the vicinity of such stations, or after the services of the "Force Labourers" should be definitively dismissed, then we suggest that such buildings be arranged for the reception of "Free Labourers," at their first arrival at these stations along the line, or converted into store-houses or premises for general in-door labour during winter; and that their sites, being judiciously selected in point of natural strength, should be slightly fortified, so as to constitute a chain of external defence and internal security along the whole extent of the line.

With reference to such buildings, as should be especially appropriated to convicts, particularly when collected into barracks during the winter months, we think they should be constructed with parallel galleries and covered avenues, or yards, convenient for the prosecution of the lightest or heaviest labour. They might be secured by a rampart, parapet, and external ditch; whilst within the external defences around these should be constituted the soldiers' barracks. These being composed of guarded wards, running in parallel lines with the prison building they should enclose, would allow no means of escape to the convicts detained within their compass; and even if the latter did succeed in passing, they would have, moreover, to scale the

ramparts, and evade the sentries posted upon them. We refer to the rough plan of these proposed erections appended to our work, in the hope that their simple form of structure will obviate all the objections which have been so constantly taken to the inconvenient and expensive buildings the Government originally erected for the same purpose at Sidney and other penal colonies, which have been proved not only insecure, but subjects of enormous scandal.

As the agricultural labourers, and others employed in the formation of the railroad and the line of cultivation along its borders, would necessarily be subject to frequent divisions east and west of the station constituting the head-quarters of each particular section, and there would consequently be a liability to removal, and necessity of temporary sojourn in spots unfavourable and inconvenient for female residence, the dwelling of the women might provisionally be fixed, during these working excursions of their husbands, at the station governing the district to which such workmen should be appointed. But as their number and unprotected state during such absence of their husbands might be productive of irregularity and discomfort in their conduct and arrangements, it may be suggested that among the very first labours instituted at each station, a plot of ground should be selected and marked off, upon which should be erected close rows of double cottages, to serve as habitations for the women during such periods as their husbands might thus be engaged at too great a distance to partake of their society. These buildings, constructed apart, should be surrounded by a separate enclosure, and between each row of small tenements within that boundary the intervening space, or alley, should, after

the plan already submitted for the general construction of primary dwellings at each settlement, be covered by a common roof from the weather, so that the female inmates might be enabled at all times to pursue such various domestic avocations as commonly require air and space, such as washing, drying, and so forth. Such a gallery as this would likewise serve for exercise during winter and as a play-ground for their children.

These separate habitations, so walled off from the rest of the community, should be under the superintendence of select matrons, under whose direction the women should be employed in works useful and necessary to the corps of which their husbands should be members, such as knitting, mending, shirtmaking, stuffing mattresses, and the fabrication of winter clothing. These buildings might aptly be denominated "Retreats."

Of course the inmates of such retired dwellings should not be subject to any irksome and undue restraint; but allowed to circulate abroad and engage in the service of others; if, with their husbands' sanction, they should feel inclined to accept offers to that effect: the above arrangement being only intended to place them under such proper supervision as would compel them to conform to such wholesome regulations and orderly habits, as would be most conducive to the preservation of propriety and decorum.

As soon, however, and as often as their husbands should be appointed to some permanent place of labour, with time allowed for the preparation of adequate accommodation, the women might be instantly conveyed from the "Retreats" to the society of their husbands: all due care being taken for their proper provision and

comfort: their vacated places in the "Retreats" to be allotted to such other women, similarly situated, as should succeed them at the station. The number of domiciles composing such "Retreats," would, of course, be only proportionate to the population allotted to each station; but as the labourers professing necessary and distinct trades, incorporated with each corps, would have their respective callings pressed into constant and immediate application to the works and wants in urgent requisition within the precincts of these infant towns, the handicraft members attached to the different corps would necessarily be retained at the head-quarters of each section, which consequently would enable them, at once, to establish permanent homes therein with their families; and thus the number for whom such separate habitations might be required would be necessarily reduced. Considering, also, that many of the labourers would be unmarried, while the wives of others might, perchance, engage in private service with free settlers at the stations, whilst many of the women would probably be of an age requiring no such precautions as those we would provide for the safeguard of their characters; the amount of habitations composing these "Retreats" need not be of any very considerable number: however, the better to assist the reader's comprehension on the subject of this plan of female retreats, we beg to refer to the subjoined sketch.

Supposing that these various corps of emigrants should arrive in Canada in the month of April, after allowing two months for the performance of their march to the various divisions and sections of their destination, and for their recovery from the first fatigue of their journey, we conceive that their public out-door labours might commence in June, and continue as long as they

could possibly brave the months of October and November.

We must recall to mind, that the number of free labourers, composing each corps of "Civil Fencibles," would amount to 4,800 men, including husbandmen, handicraftsmen, superintendents, and guards, incorporated with them; while the "Force Labourers," or convicts, appointed to assist in each division, would amount, as before specified, to 2,000; in all, 6,800 effectives on each division of 400 miles. These, with the further aid of as many farm labourers as might occasionally be spared from the work of tillage, could erect log huts, and other buildings assigned to the different stations, in number proportioned to its class and population. Now, one thousand men, in addition to the due performance of the labour necessary for their support, viz., to clear five acres of land, and throw up sufficient habitations in the course of the spring and summer season, are proved to be capable, by calculations founded upon Canadian practice, of also constructing log-hut accommodation for 10,000 persons.

Rough and simple as these temporary fabrics constructed for new settlers generally are, still with more time and pains bestowed by such an expedition, as we have depicted, upon buildings erected under scientific direction and approved plans, they would amount to a very considerable number of extra habitations, beyond the actual number required by the forces first introduced into the occupancy of each sectional station of a division; so that ample shelter would be provided, in the very first season, for the supplementary increase of fresh arrivals in the next.

Supposing, likewise, by the end of autumn, that all the various implements, machinery, and materials for

winter work, which these "Force Labourers," or convicts, would have to perform—in preparation for the actual execution of the railroad itself, intended to commence the ensuing spring—should all have been conveyed by this time to the four log forts, No. 1, E. ; No. 2, E. : and to No. 1, W. ; and No. 2, W. ; then the convicts, on each division, should be divided into separate bodies of about 60 each, to be distributed over 32 sections, into which the 400 miles are divided ; and marched under their respective guards to their specific quarters ; and there be securely housed in the order already submitted during the winter season.

With similar provision against these winter months, we propose that the artizans, attached to each corps of "Civil Fencibles," being likewise supplied with material and proper buildings for the prosecution of their separate and various callings, should devote themselves to in-door industry, until restored to the open labours of spring ; while the agricultural body in each division, having cleared their five acres of land each, according as we before observed to the average computed for each individual during a season in Canada, should likewise retire for the winter to the head-quarters of their respective sections : there to rejoin their wives in the log-huts prepared for them, according to the general plan. The husbandmen, like the artizans and force-labourers, should be provided, under proper instruction, with necessary implements and materials for the execution of useful labours connected with the public works, during the season of agricultural suspension. But, as soon as spring would permit, the whole of them, throughout the seven divisions, might resume their general avocations abroad ; and their numbers being materially augmented by fresh

arrivals from England, they might, with the exception of a certain number still retained for tillage, at once proceed to direct their combined labour to the immediate formation of the railroad itself. In the prosecution of this plan, we propose that they should observe the method already cursorily suggested, which we will more circumstantially develop as follows :—First, the “Force Labourers,” or convicts, being released from their habitations in the log-forts appointed for their winter quarters, should be divided into separate detachments, always under an adequate proportion of “Rifle Guards,” and according to the force required at the posts assigned to their summer labours. Then, supposing, for example, that operations should commence at terminus E., it is evident that by marching a detachment thither, so as to work in simultaneous dispatch with similar detachments at Log Fort, No. 1, E., both parties would work their way east and west to their common centre, at station K. E.; while the labourers located at the latter post, as well as those posted between station L. E. and station J. E., would progress in the same order: the “Fencible Labourers,” having the convicts always in advance, as “Pioneers,” clearing the ground before them, in uniform and combined system all along the line of each division and section, from extreme to centre, and from centre to extremes. Thus the whole would advance with, and upon, each other at the same general rate, in distance, time, and order, till the final accomplishment of each sectional labour. But as great difficulties could not but necessarily supervene at some portions of the line of works more than at others, the exact distribution of labourers, in conformity with our presented rule of appointment and arrangement, could not always be observed ;

and therefore extra numbers, drafted from parties or gangs less tasked, should reinforce the bodies employed for the time-being at those particular spots: exigencies for which the convicts, in particular, should always be held in readiness. Nevertheless, we would still urge adherence to be maintained, as much as possible, to the regular and precise system we have laid down, as being one that is pre-eminently adapted to preserve unity throughout the whole: promote facility and obedience, and enable authority to extend its supervision and direction with the greatest accuracy and ease to every object and individual situated and employed on the farthest as well as nearest foot of ground comprehended in the apportioned labour. Thus, although some occasional disparity in the order of general arrangement would of necessity occur, yet, as soon as such infraction of the general rule became no longer necessary, an immediate resumption of the regular method of work might take place; so that, though the original practice might sometimes be accidentally disturbed, its working would still continue as much as possible the same throughout the whole line, in spite of any such casual and temporary exceptions.

For instance, one detachment of labourers might have to encounter, in progress of its work, the difficulties of a forest, a steep, a morass, or a piece of rocky ground; while the works of others, even in its immediate vicinity, might lie, on the contrary, through a clear and level surface and light soil; in which case, members from the less tasked parties should be transferred to co-operation with the heavier-tasked; but as soon as such difficulty should be overcome, the borrowed supernumeraries might at once be re-attached to their original companies

or sections, as before. All this, we are fully aware, would frequently depend upon circumstances altogether irreducible to any fixed and specific rule; still fidelity to an uniform principle could not but prove satisfactory and expeditious. Nay, more: if the system, by any possibility, could always be strictly and uninterruptedly prosecuted to the letter, by each division, subdivision, and section, through every department of the line, the completion of any one hundred, or fifty, or twenty-five miles' distance, constituting any whatsoever portion of the route, would be the signal of the general and entire accomplishment of the whole line of works from one extreme to the other. To render our plan, however, more intelligible, should we have failed to convey a just conception of our meaning by words, we refer to our appended scheme of the intended railroad.

In testimony of the rapidity with which such works are executed in Canada, even under the ordinary system, we beg to submit the following from a correspondent of the *Times*:—

“ *Montreal, March 1.*

“They make quick work with railroads in this country. The distance from St. Hyacinthe to Melbourne is about forty miles through the forest. Ground was only broken about six weeks ago, and it is under contract to deliver the whole line ready for traffic into the engineer's hands by next October. It will be done, too!”

In reference to the agricultural labours, which ought simultaneously to proceed in connexion with the actual construction of the railroad, it would be a primary object to be observed, both with regard to the distribution of population, and in the field culture in relation to the railway, that the husbandry, as far as it might be practicable,

should never, at the first stages of operations, be permitted to diverge north or south of the absolute line to any considerable extent, by the aid of pauper or convict exertion so applied; but that the tillage publicly employed should not depart more than a trifling distance from the marked track, during the first season; nor more than a mile on each side, till the completion of the route, unless cultivation along the immediate skirt of the line at any part, should prove utterly impracticable. For it would be a paramount object to accelerate an uninterrupted stretch of consecutive tillage, which might be done by confining it to the narrowest strip which the purpose of its productive supply would admit. Along the centre of this narrow zone the railroad should train.

At the very first stroke of the spade, what a splendid earnest would be given of peopling, improving and civilizing all the circumjacent country at the completion of this magnificent work! Such a measure would not only quickly improve the whole tract of territory in the vicinity of the line itself, but all the countries within the boundary of both seas. For connecting waters would radiate in every direction; and train branches of railway might easily be conducted, which would in a very few years, were the thing so managed, supply by their competition for place in this field of promise, far more than would be required to defray the expense of the whole and entire undertaking.

Let us now proceed to demonstrate with ease the advantages that would accrue from such an undertaking: its enormous power of pay and profit: the manner in which resources would develop themselves, and finally let us show the contemptibility of other

emigration projects in comparison with this; at once so naturally afforded and so splendidly developed as it is and might be to our views. For indeed it is necessary to show the petty working of the whole system, and thus to encourage timid minds; else dazzled by results at once too far off and too imposing; though certain as the rotation of the planets, or—to descend to a more familiar comparison—the growth of forest trees. With harlequin's wand, or the gift of Fortunatus, it is easy to conjure a march of ideal emigrants that would outnumber the hosts of Xerxes, and to support them too in a wilderness, by the same supernatural agency; but how, by any means of ordinary power, unaided by miracle, can Great Britain maintain in a remote land the thousands we talk of which she cannot support at home? It is true that we cannot meet every objection which may be urged by cold-blooded credulity; nor can we convince scepticism or burke unbelief; but we can adduce *facts* for a candid reader; and, if the sentiment of such a one be already enlisted in our behalf, we fear not but that his judgment will readily follow. We cannot persuade those, who are determined not to believe. The inventors of steam could not at first do that; nor the projectors of lighting by gas; nor the electric telegraphists, just escaped from the persecution of sages. The small-pox was allowed to devour, or disfigure, a third of the British generation; before our social Solomons would acknowledge the efficacy of vaccination. This is the same race, that opposed the saw-mill and the spinning-jenny: who choked atmospheric propulsion on rails: who attack every invention, scorn every discovery, and sneer at every patent; and will, to a man, oppose our railroad,

if it be worth a straw. But we assure those open to conviction, that, colossal as our scheme of emigration in connexion with the railroad may appear, it may be proved not only self-supporting, but, based on the practical experience of the Canadian people, who have long been satisfied by frequent experiments upon a small scale, successfully practised in various parts of the propitious territory we have in view, of the powers and resources of the country to bear out more than our purpose.

A very eminent writer on colonial matters, Mr. Montgomery Martin, has assured the world, that such is the fertility of the soil in Canada, that fifty bushels of wheat per acre are frequently produced on a farm where the stumps, which probably occupy an eighth of the surface, have not been eradicated: and, in some instances, he says—perhaps too credulously,—even one hundred bushels are obtained from a single acre! In some districts, wheat has been raised successively on the same ground for twenty years, without manure; and further, he reports that a gentleman writing from Chatham, on the Thames in Canada, asserts, that “the soil is so productive, that eighteen to seventy barrels of wheat, per acre, are yielded for from ten to fifteen years.”

The Bishop of Montreal vouches, in alluding to the far-west territories of the Canadian region, that the soil, which is alluvial, is beyond example rich and productive; and withal so easily worked that, although it does not quite come up to the ‘Happy Island’—‘*reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis*’—there is an instance of a farm on which the owner, with comparative light labour in the preparatory process, had taken a wheat crop out of the same land for eighteen successive years—never changing the crop: never manuring the land, and

never suffering it to lie fallow, and that the crop was abundant to the last ; and, with respect to the pasture and hay (he observes), they are to be had *ad libitum* ; as nature gives them in the open plains.

Less marvellous than these, but no less favourable, Mr. Preston, an intelligent writer and Government official, informs us, "That about eight years ago frequent complaints were made by agriculturists residing in the vicinity of certain towns in the Gore district, of the scarcity of labourers, arising from the universal property in landed possession, to such an amount as to render the inhabitants generally too independent to engage for hire. To remedy which the executive Government directed the location of some indigent immigrant families on parts of the Governmental reserves situated near the towns in question, composed of lots of only five acres ; thereby to attach them to the ground by partial provision too moderate to permit them to reject wages for labour offered by others. These little lots were accordingly laid out, and huts erected thereon at the expense of Government ; the parties installed upon them, receiving assurance that if the land were not required for the purposes for which it was originally set apart, and that these poor cottiers conducted themselves with propriety, they should not be distributed in their locations. Whereupon upwards of sixty families were thus provided for, who so rapidly prospered that others of the same class shortly afterwards joined them, all of whom, with only this small temporary accommodation, not only possessed cattle in a very short period of time, but actually purchased land, which they are now engaged in improving."

Is not this an example, which comes direct to our support, and proves the benefit derivable both by the com-

munity and individuals by small allotments, in a country whose natural fecundity is so cruelly retarded by dearth of labour?

Conducted on the same system is a village at the head of Owen's Sound, containing thirty-six houses. Government gives five acres free, on condition of actual settlement, and that one-third be cleared and cropped in four years, when a deed is obtained. Another fifty are granted on paying eight shillings per acre within three years, nine shillings within six years, and ten shillings per acre within nine years. The soil is good, the climate healthy, and settlers prosperous and contented.

Mr. Gourlay, a practical and scientific agriculturist of unquestionable authority, avers that the average produce of wheat per acre in Canada is twenty-one bushels for one of seed to the acre, viz., *twenty for one*—while the average produce of England does not exceed eighteen bushels per acre for three bushels of seed, giving only *six for one*. In Canada the husbandry in general is very bad : in England it is altogether the reverse ; for the natural superiority of Canada in point of soil over England rises to the greatest excess, when we consider that from one end of the province to the other there are scarcely two acres of sterile ground to be seen side by side ; while England has its mountains, its moors, its downs, and barren sands.

Another writer assures us, on the other hand, "that maize, or Indian corn, flourishes more wholesomely and better than that of southern growth. The potato is the best in the universe ; the vegetable productions of the Old World grow in garden luxuriance, superior to their original European state ; tobacco thrives excellently in the western districts ; and where (he asks) are there such wheat harvests, and hay of such quantity and quality?"

Such is the country to which we would convey the paupers of this ill-distributed land, which presents not one foot of possession for their undisputed occupancy, till they are finally shovelled under its monopolised surface. Here, they have to pay for the advantage of exhibiting their wretchedness among civilized men by the continual endurance of privations which suspend their existence, in anxious and hungry attenuation, between life and death : here, they are often consigned to the kennel, in very weariness of being : precariously preserved to the sense of suffering by the scanty nutrition supplied by an uninigorating root : subject to scarcity and disease : tantalized by gruel potations and miserable broths ; and occasionally it has happened they have been compelled to support life by recourse to hedge fruits and wild herbs, to rejected offal and the garbage of the sea-strand—nay, to dispute with dogs the putrescent and repugnant bones carted to the mills where poverty consummates its degradation. Let us compare with these the condition of the savages of the Canadian deserts, who, governed by no minister professing science for their improvement and support, still contrive, in the absence of labour, landlords, and institutions, to maintain their being, without taxing the ingenuity of political economists, or the enforced charity of fellow men ; and see what the wilderness provides ! First—to present the contrast—let us again review our British destitute.

Reader, you have seen, perhaps, our pauper fellow citizens, cowering and dejected, devouring the stinted dole of the workhouse, and wondered at the vitality of the human machine, which could maintain its functions upon the strength of such meagre aliment. You have seen, perhaps, the children of the *bastilles* supplying the deficiency of aliment by swilling application to the

pump, productive of that abdominal inflation which makes them resemble the hideous and deformed images of diseased fancy. You may have seen the cringing and emaciate petitioners for the parish loaf hanging in abject groups round the overseer's door: the eager starveling crawling from remote districts to the benevolent soup dispensary: the miserable street wanderer devouring the broken victual flung to his necessity on the private door step, where he treads with timid apprehension of offence: the houseless patrollers of the streets arrested by the lashing of the midnight rain, shivering in sullen destitution beneath the shelter of the dreary portal. You have heard, perhaps, the cry for bread from starving children, at the cold fireless hearth, answered by the despairing groans of the helpless parents; and you may have noted the beings, perhaps as pitiable, with careworn look and faded attire, who resort with sauntering listlessness to the benches of our public parks—unconscious of all around them—lost in the pre-occupation of perplexed and bewildered musings upon all the desperate alternatives which fancy can suggest against imperative want! You may, perhaps, have perused the sickening pages of the *Poor Man's Guardian*, and started, with a mixture of doubt and horror, from the view of its gloomy illustrations. If so, you are somewhat acquainted with 'model lodging-houses' for the poor, and 'city beds' for the destitute.* You know, perhaps,

* We quote the following passage from the work alluded to:—
"I learnt that no food of any description is allowed to stay their appetites at night time, and a rug was given, as far as the number of rugs in the workhouse would admit, to the poor fellows to cover themselves with. There being neither *beds* nor *bedsteads*, those who lay down did so on the ground, and I was attracted to a group of seven young men and lads who were lying together, covered with two rugs only, among them. Being already aware of the indelicate regulations generally in existence in casual wards of workhouses, I said to

what civilization has in store for the majority of the multitude destined to toil on British ground. If not, let us select a bill of fare: not recurring to the example of Kilrush, for a list of regimen: nor to the crowded unions of Dorsetshire; but making choice of the poorhouse practice of Islington, one of the most thriving parishes of the metropolis:—

SUNDAYS—6 oz. boiled beef (clods and stickings) and potatoes.

MONDAYS—The pot-liquor of the above.

TUESDAYS—6 oz. mutton and rice.

WEDNESDAYS—The pot-liquor of the above.

THURSDAYS—Boiled beef (hard as a stick) and potatoes.

FRIDAYS—The pot-liquor again!

SATURDAYS—1 lb. of suet pudding.

Butter or cheese (choice) . . . 1 oz. a-day.

Bread 4 oz. a-day.

Beer (at 3d. a gallon) . . . 2 pints a-day.

No tea or sugar allowed.

In the mornings—"skilly!"

Sixpence a-day, *more* than covering the expense of maintenance of each pauper, the average number *in the house* being about 400—men, women, and children inclusive.

them, 'Now my friends, I have come into this place for your benefit, to see if I cannot succeed in having introduced such alterations as it may be advisable to adopt. Will you feel offended if I pull down the rugs which are covering you?' 'No, sir,' was the reply, 'do whatever you deem proper.' I pulled down the rugs, and there, as I suspected, beheld the *seven persons lying in a complete state of nudity, and so closely huddled together*, for the sake of obtaining the mutual warmth of each other's bodies, that they *could not have occupied a space of more than five feet in width*. It was impossible not to feel a deep sense of disgust at witnessing so indecent and so humiliating a sight! However, I calmly interrogated them as to the reason of their sleeping naked. 'Because,' said one, '*we are enabled easily to wipe off the vermin which we get on our bodies from these rugs; and if we slept with our clothes on, we should not be able to get rid of them so easily.*' The porter who heard this quietly observed to me, 'They bring them in themselves sometimes.' The coolness with which he made this remark, and his insensibility to the disgraceful charge of the rugs being so frightfully filthy, made me experience a sense of loathing, mixed up with feelings of indignation, mortification, and despair."

In common justice, however, to these miserable combinations, we are bound to mention the splendid munificence of Clerkenwell, St. James's, Hanover-square, and other wealthy districts, which actually allow tea and sugar, and a diurnal allowance of two pints of *small* ale, which may bring up the improved existence of these luxurious paupers to tenpence a-day upon the average. Consider what 10*d.* a-day procures in this country!

For managing the affairs of either one or the other of these death-in-life abodes of true born Britons, we find that a clerk alone receives in one Union £1,700; and in another £800 a-year; and that in one of them they have, at least, sixty-two *guardians* or trustees, and a proportionate number of *relieving-officers*, to supply the necessities of about 150 poor men, 100 poor women, and 200 destitute children; but which, in the shape of poor-rate, and under the pretence of supporting the poor, amounts in one of the Unions to no less than £80,000 a-year!—the salary of the clerk alone being equal to the maintenance of about 200 paupers! Is not the picture revolting? England!—England!

With the assertion of the bitter fact, inquiry is challenged; for we are prepared by living evidence to make good the brand.

Turn now from our English wretches and the stinted stipend they enjoy, to the desert and its child; and as we have just seen what Canada can afford in vegetable produce, let us now, also, compute its resources in animal food; but, without pausing to consider the piscatory fecundity of the Canadian waters, or the countless herds that wander wild over its plains and forests, slaughtered in wantonness or for their mere hides—their carcasses abandoned to infect the air or gorge the wolf or vulture—

we will extract another brief summary, illustrative of Indian life, from the travels of Mr. Thomas Simpson :—

“ No people so soon get tired (he says) of any particular diet as Indians ; and the longings for change, even amidst the best cheer, are often truly ridiculous. The flexibility of their stomachs is no less surprising. At one time they will gorge themselves with food, and are then prepared to go without any for several days if necessary. Enter their tents : sit there, if you can, for a whole day, and not for an instant will you find their fire unoccupied by persons of all ages cooking. When not hunting, or travelling, they are in fact always eating. Now it is a little roast, a partridge, or rabbit, perhaps ; now a tit-bit, broiled under the ashes ; anon a portly kettle, well filled with venison, swings over the fire ; then comes a choice dish of curdled blood, followed by the sinews and marrow-bones of deer’s legs, singed on the embers ; and so the grand business of life goes unceasingly round, interrupted only by sleep. Though capable of resisting with fortitude intense cold, they are seen, even when the weather is mild and pleasant, heaping on fuel in the house ; and actually sitting crossed-legged on the hearth, where a white man would speedily be roasted.”

What a contrast with English paupers, pining in the cold and hungry desolation which civilization has provided for them !

“ Poor naked wretches, wheresoe’er you are,
That bide the pelting of the ‘ parish scorn,’
How would your houseless heads, and unfed sides ;
Your loop’d and ragged wretchedness, ‘ content ye’
At picture such as this ?”

And now, to substantiate beyond all possible means of controversion, the unequalled capabilities of this magnificent portion of the British empire, let us once more recur to Gourlay, who caused the accompanying tables to

be officially returned and formally attested: the vouchers being, moreover, borne out by names and particulars so circumstantial and identical as can admit of no doubt upon the subject of his public testimony.

*Table showing the Progress of Improvement in Twenty-four Months, at Perth, Johnstone District, near Rideau.**

UPPER CANADA.

Names of Settlers.	Acres Chopped.	Cleared	In Wheat.	Other Crops.	Pounds Sugar Made.	Cows.	Oxen.
Peter Macpherson and Son	19	19	5½	5	70	2	4
James MacIaren	16	16	5	5	80	3	2
James Taylor	14	11	4½	3	82	4	0
John Simpson	14	13	5	4	50	2	2
James Miller	7	7	1½	1½	0	1	0
Hugh Mackay	10	9	3	3	60	2	0
William Spalding	18	17	8	6	90	2	2
William Rutherford.	10	8	6	2	0	1	2
John Hay	12	10	8	2	0	0	0
Archibald Morrison	4½	4½	3	1½	0	0	0
Thomas Maclean	10	10	9	1	120	0	2
John Haliday	14	12	6½	5½	100	1	2
Alexander Macfarlane	16	13	8	5	30	3	1
James Macdonald	10	9	4	5	30	3	0
John Ferguson	8	7	5	2	55	1	0
John Flood	7	5	3	2	50	1	0
William MacGillivray	10	8	5	3	0	3	0
John Brash	12	9	5	4	70	3	1
Ann Holderness	9	8	3½	4½	50	3	0
John Miller	10	8	5	3	40	1	0
William Old	13	10	5	5	30	4	0
Francis Allan	7	7	3	4	65	2	2
Thomas Cuddie	9	8	3	5	20	2	2
Total	259½	228½	114	82	1092	44	22
24 Months' Average by 24 Men, accompanied by 15 Wives and 74 Children	10½	9½	4½	3½	45½		

* Gourlay, vol. i. p. 526.

The foregoing tables are positive ; and, with the various other testimony we have invoked, should surely prove triumphantly to all, the happy fitness of Canada, above every other country, to form a home of refuge for the British poor. Such testimony as this might surely overcome any prejudice that exists with regard to a grand emigration to this inviting land, if but accompanied by encouragement from our parish authorities. Take note that the movement already exists in desultory examples ; but alas ! too insignificantly conceived and incompetently directed, to effect any material good either here or in Canada. From time to time we meet with notices, like the following, in our public journals :—

“ *April 1, 1850.*—A vessel is announced to sail in a few days with emigrants to Montreal and Quebec. This vessel takes out two hundred paupers from Cheltenham Union ; the guardians paying their passage, under the new regulation, which these authorities are permitted to make. This is quite a new feature in the history of the port of Gloucester.”

“ *April 11.*—This day a large party of emigrants, consisting of one hundred and twenty-eight persons, proceeded, by special train, from the Nine Elms’ station of the London South-Western Railway, to Southampton. This party was joined by other parties at Woking, Basingstoke, and Andover, bringing additions from various places : from Godalming, Wallingford, Farringdon, Andover, &c. These emigrants were of the agricultural class, sent out by their respective parishes. They were generally stout countrymen, and of a class to make good back-woodsmen, in the countries to which they were bound—viz., Canada and the Western States. The South-Western Railway Company, we understand, con-

vey such emigrants, in bodies, at five shillings a head."

In competition with Canada as a colonial settlement—Canada, fertile, promising, honest Canada,—it has been the custom for years to eulogize the paramount advantages of other dependencies, of which it may well be said, that "distance lends enchantment to the view"—perhaps the only enchantment about them, if we are to credit the little side-whispers which occasionally reach the public ear, in woeful contradiction of the felicitous pictures their interested advocates are wont to publish for the attraction and capture of settlers. These rival Edens are Australia, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, the Cape, and Port Natal. Of the first, Mr. Denison has just informed us, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, that "New South Wales is so destitute of water, and so sterile, that it must be considered a purely pastoral district. It is, in fact, one great sheep-walk, without any internal water-communications, and with but little chance of internal improvement. Formerly the land there was five shillings the acre, until the Colonial-office raised it to twenty shillings; but the House might judge what was the real value, when he told them it required six or seven acres to feed one sheep!"

So much for the *physique*; now for the *morale*.—Sir W. Molesworth: "He would only for a moment (he said) direct the attention of the House to the consequences of transportation, as evinced in the amounts of crime existing in New South Wales, and described in the Report of the Committee on Transportation. That report was unanimously adopted—it had gone out to all the colonies; and it told them in plain terms what were the consequences of the system. It was signed by

Lord John Russell, Sir George Grey, Lord Howick, Mr. Hawes, Sir R. Peel, Mr. C. Buller, and Lord Ebrington. That report stated that it was difficult to form an adequate idea of the extent of the evil ; that, in proportion to the population, the number of persons in New South Wales convicted of highway robbery, exceeded the total number of convicts for all offences in England : the murders and attempts at murder were as common as petty larceny in England ; and that forgery, sheep-stealing, and the like, were out of all proportion to the number of similar crimes committed in England."

A private letter, in the public journals, dated North Adelaide, Sept. 23rd, 1849, says :—" Not one in ten houses in the city of Adelaide, Thiburton, Hindmarsh, Albertown, or Port Adelaide, has got a staircase ; the majority being cottages of two or three rooms, built of stone of a ragged, irregular shape : in fact, even in the principal buildings, and in the Governor's house, there is scarcely a bit of hewn stone. The houses are covered in with wood, in consequence of the rarity of slate. Water is very scarce—one shilling and sixpence the cask is charged for it. The houses, small as they are, fetch eight shillings to twelve shillings a-week. Some shops in Adelaide let for twenty-five shillings a-week, and even £3. 16s. per week. There are more persons here than can get work ; such as bricklayers, plasterers, masons, carpenters, painters and glaziers, whitesmiths, blacksmiths, cabinet-makers, tailors, butchers, and bakers. Unless people connected with these trades make up their minds to get into the bush or mines, or like anything they can get to do, they have little chance of success. There wants more capital and less emigrants."

Upon Van Diemen's Land, on the other hand, a stigma has been affixed, which not only disqualifies it as an appropriate sojourn for honest industry, even were it commendable by distance, soil, and climate; but hangs such an odium upon the settlement as will, and ought, to avert all tendency to select it for a refuge. Without waiting to discuss the objections which attach to the natural condition of that out-of-the-way colony, we will at once specify the now irremediable evil which fatally interdicts it as a proper destination either for respectable capitalists, or honest poverty. Earl Grey recently informed the House of Lords, that "the whole number of male convicts in Van Diemen's Land alone, after the close of the year 1840, did not exceed 7,942; whereas, in the five years from that time to the close of 1845, the number of male convicts transported there was not less than 17,637. The arrival of this large number of convicts not only broke down all the arrangements, which had been made for the safe custody and superintendence of the convicts in the island; but it also so glutted the labour-market, that the easy means by which convicts, on being free, obtained subsistence for themselves by honest labour, were entirely lost. The convicts, who had gone into the country for work, were obliged to return to the hiring depôts of Hobart Town and elsewhere; because they were unable to procure labour from private individuals. This led to a state of things, which was absolutely frightful. The demoralization, which took place in the gangs, was shocking to contemplate; and the whole colony was thrown into confusion and disorder, owing to the large number of convicts who had no employment."

The long-fluctuating opinions pervading the public,

on the subject of New Zealand, have ceased to be equivocal, through the decisive disposal of the question by recent accounts, and the numerous re-emigration from this antipodean nook, to the new American states on the Pacific, are sufficient indices of its unsubstantial character and unfitness as a select spot for Englishmen to set up their penates. Life here is, indeed, a sequestration from the interests of the general universe—a *cul de sac* to individual ambition; where man seems to escape from the surface of the earth, as through a trap-door, to a planet apart. It is an *oubliette* on the far ocean, whose obscurity Commerce and European intercourse must long, or for ever, refrain from troubling. Scheme after scheme of social improvement has signally failed, despite the struggle of the buried-living there, and their interested confederates in this country, to gloss over the truth, and put a good face on the matter. Although no longer exposed to be eaten by cannibals, they are by no means free from peril. Evil administration and bad systems gnaw the heart of this colony. All the model settlements there have failed, and neither its geographical position, or natural capabilities, ensure its decisive triumph over repeated blight. The last migratory speculation, dressed up to delude settlers to this tomb of society, involves a story piquant enough to merit place among the “Canterbury Tales.” It is called the “Canterbury Emigration Job,” or the “New Zion of New Zealand.” We will not enter into details upon the subject here; but will merely solace our justifiable bile by exclaiming, what misjudgment—what infatuation—what perversity to inveigle the irreflective and unwary, from a proper direction of settlement, to lose themselves in an isolated

corner within a corner ! To expose this bubble, and show to what projects the solid prospects, which Canada holds out, are sacrificed, we beg to cite the prospectus of the worthy Association, who would send us upon a Canterbury pilgrimage to the end of the world and back again : for an attempt at return would be as certain as the experimental visit to the orthodox home, prohibited to the needy and schismatic, which State-Church philanthropists would reserve as an exclusive retreat for such beloved parishioners, as should carry with them a proper sense of the true religion and—money ; and be withal willing to continue faithful to this system of systems, by which pauperism will not be permitted to deface the model community ; and poverty be as rare as heresy ! The prospectus states, “ that no block of land can be purchased in this choice Utopia of less than *fifty acres* ; that the sum to be paid is £150 per section of that amount, £3 per acre—but that the purchase of the surface will—(Oh, boundless liberality !)—include, in every case, coal and mineral—(ay, mandrakes and treasure-trove)—*not reserved to the Crown*, and lying underneath the section purchased.” Think of the chance of a diamond mine ; or rich deposits of New Zealanders’ heads—profitable commodities of curiosity ! We refer to the APPENDIX at the end of this volume for some remarks upon this pious job for the *benefit* of England and Englishmen, and the conscientious dealings of these *benefactors* of a class, of which each member is expected to afford £500 to defray the expenses of his own emigration : not even to be laid out as he pleases ; but to build churches, and hire sheep-farms, and pay for committees and management, postage-stamps, &c., wafers, godliness, and a Prospectus. Yet whatever plans of set-

tlement may be devised—whatever may be the parties promoting them—New Zealand never can become, either by situation or room, a satisfactory and available home for British subjects.

The Cape, on the other hand, has arrived at the full extent of its capability ; and change now can only be expected in gradual, or rapid retrogression, from that state of ambiguous prosperity, which has prompted a spirit in the inhabitants, that seems earnest of increased abuse, dissension, and decay. The Cape, as a valuable colony, independent of its opportune site as a maritime station, was, in its very origin, a lie. It never was, and *never can be*, a flourishing colony.

The *Globe* lately published the following extract from the *Natal Witness* of the 7th December, 1849 :—"The arrival of the emigrants to this country, and at their appointed plots, was marked by utter disappointment, and determination not to remain. They were each to receive twenty acres of land. They were duly received and housed free of expense on landing, till the surveyor called them together, to see the land allotted to them ; but which, in truth, did not correspond at all with the London agents' sunny picture of Natal—' Its wooded kloofs,' 'meandering streams,' and 'verdant valleys.' " We find the conclusion arrived at by the party thus described in one of their letters—"Many of us who have friends and relatives waiting our favourable report, will be stayed in their purpose. Two of our people have already left for the Cape ; several others state their intention of following their example ; some return home. One family goes to the Mauritius ; and others say they will embrace the first opportunity of getting to America. One of our company, who purchased one thousand three

hundred acres, acting as pioneer to several of his friends, has written to them to prevent their coming to Natal, and incur further loss and disappointment."

So much for the rival Colonies of Canada !

In 1817 the New York legislature exhibited the utmost hesitation and doubt on the subject of the Erie and Ontario Canals ; their confidence in these admirable projects being shaken by persons, who pursued the projectors with the most unrelenting persecution ; until the enterprize was frequently on the point of being abandoned altogether in disgust or despair. However, some faint confidence was gradually inspired ; and some sanguine enthusiasts had the temerity to predict that, in ten years after the construction of these canals, they might annually produce even so much as 150,000 dollars. At this prediction scepticism sneered and the general public doubted. But what was the result ? Why this—the profit realized by the enterprize, very much within the given time, instead of 150,000 dollars, exceeded *ten millions* of dollars ! Meantime, General Morris, in his memorial to the Legislature, and in the prospectus of the undertaking, which he submitted to the public, preparatory to its commencement, had been mad enough to assert that in less than twenty years time, 250,000 tons of merchandize might even, by this means, be annually conveyed to tide water ; for which he was, in no slight degree, ridiculed. Mark, in 1836, no less than 697,347 tons were transported to tide water by that channel ; and the total amount of tonnage, ascending, and descending, within the predicted period, instead of 250,000 tons, did actually *exceed* ONE MILLION THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND tons !

CHAPTER XII.

WAYS AND MEANS.

WE have somewhat diverged from the direct purpose we had in view in the preceding chapter, viz., to show the advantages of immediate return which our favourite colony would have over all others. But we trust we *have* shown hitherto, throughout this work, facts illustrative of the fact that the capabilities of soil and climate of Canada are pre-eminent above the rest, for the purposes of emigration. By such an immediate return, as would be made in point of harvest, after one season had elapsed, necessary to clear the land, it is evident that the great organized body, we have passed in review before the reader, of pioneers and guards, free labourers, paupers and convicts, would in a very short period *maintain itself*, and so relieve the Government of England from a vast responsibility of support and aid, and quickly proceed to return the expense of the original outfit. We have shown the fallacy of minor schemes in the shape of colonization, as well as demonstrated that we differ from all of them *in one grand fact*, viz., that they are without return to the Mother Country; whilst our undertaking promises salvation to all. In a few years, what a superfluous harvest of grain, all our own, may be shipped here in return for the produce of the parent state! This would be indeed a triumph of Free Trade. It would be on the

principle of internal commerce, always to be preferred to external : in proportion as the former possesses a much greater power of increase to the prosperity of a country than the latter. For we would have England and Canada *one country*.

There is now one most important point to be considered, upon which, however, we shall at present touch but lightly ; as it is capable of being considered in a variety of ways. Moreover, it is our intention in a very short time to publish a supplementary work to this, containing much more detail than our pages can afford space for in one volume. The question we are about to approach is one of Ways and Means. How is the capital to be supplied for this gigantic undertaking ?

It may appear unnecessary to ask such a question in a country possessed of such private wealth and public enterprize as this. It may seem almost absurd to do so, when we consider Russian loans, Greek loans, Spanish loans, and Irish loans, all lent and offered to Government and by Government, and thus borrowed and spent with the recklessness of a generous prodigal *in the hands of the Jews*.

This comes under the head of the excusable case mentioned in an after part of this work, where a nation may borrow ; since it is *to preserve Canada*, a part of our British possessions. But when, at the same time, it is to redeem England by an almost immediate return, we think, even should private speculation refuse its aid (which we hardly anticipate, even although it generally requires rather a bubble than a reality to cause the money to be forthcoming from John Bull), that the Government would be justified in contracting a loan for £14,000,000. This is the sum, which we have calculated

would be necessary to commence, carry through, and complete this work, from the expense of the present printing of this little work of the mind, to the opening, —amid the salvoes of a thousand cannon at once reverberating amid the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and booming over the mighty expanse of the western lakes and prairies—of the Grand Junction Railway Line of the Atlantic and Pacific. This, too, is supposing that no state economy is to assist in paving the way to a regeneration of the British Empire: that no other great plans of salvation are to be adopted. It is supposing that the scheme were to be started to-day or to-morrow, without preparation, consideration, or the great purgation of the state antecedent to a new course of life and existence. With the plans we propose, however, no additional, or even momentary, weight need be added to the incumbrances of the country. We ought indeed, to be chary of borrowing even a present million. We would not, for this great work, if it be not necessary, incur the liability even of such a sum as would be equal to a six months' war-tax. There are many ways of carrying our plans into effect otherwise.

In the first place, a great company might be chartered: to be *assisted* by Government in return for the employment and maintenance of convicts and paupers. Imagine the day when we shall see our model prisons turned into additional barracks for an increased army to defend our native isle and the honour of the British flag. Conceive the workhouses becoming open almshouses for the *aged and sick* poor. Yes, it is these, which every good Government of a healthy country is bound to maintain. A great and flourishing nation never grudges the support of an army. It glories in reviews and pageants.

There is no true Englishman, with a well-fed stomach and decently clothed back, who does not delight in Dover Castle and Woolwich Marshes, who does not love to follow the march of a regiment, or look at the still statelier march of a line-of-battle ship, with the proud feeling and thought—"This is of me; this is mine." It is only in a morbid state that we grumble at a standing army, or a squadron of observation. It is when we are not well, that we quarrel with victories. It is natural to chide even success in the pangs of starvation.

To recur to the subject. We do not fear but that a very little consideration of our scheme, together with some wholesome agitation, and a modicum of talking, somewhat more to the purpose than a debate on brick duties, will create a sufficient soul of enterprize within the ribs and coffers of capital to carry out our design. In a future part of the work, viz., the chapter on the Incorporation of Canada, we shall show the advantages to be derived by every class in this country. We shall demonstrate that the pillars of the State, the aristocracy of England, will be deeply interested in the work: that it will open an universal market for worth, talent, and *birth*: that it will not stop at provision for the poor and needy, but will extend its benefits to the indigent rich: that it will be not only for the humble and penniless, but for the proud and poor: that, in fine, it will strengthen and revivify *all*—from the throne to the workhouse! Can there be any doubt, then, that capital will be supplied when the nation turns all its energies that way, or is it to be supposed that the Jews will, on this occasion only, lock up their resources? We say that in one month a prospectus might be filled up—capital £15,000,000, if backed by the Government with

the assistance of ships, men, diplomacy, and a charter ; without taxing the nation's industry for one moment one additional shilling. However, as this may be called imaginative and theoretical, and lie under the stigma of being merely based upon supposition, let us propose, at any rate, one sound and practical plan—after which we will leave the subject of expense, as we said before, to further consideration. As, throughout this work, there has existed justly no scruple to avail ourselves of the plans and systems, inquiries and remarks of practical men upon the various subjects upon which we have written, we will upon this occasion not hesitate to quote the writer of a work, which we have perused with singular satisfaction, “ Hodson on the Extinction of Poor-rates without increased Taxation.” By a reference to the plan this gentleman develops, we shall show how in the simplest manner the Government may lay the required means at the disposal of the country ; whilst, indeed, it is only just, fit, and proper that the Government should do so. Mr. Hodson speaks of “ Home Labour Reserves ” and thence of “ Colonial Homes.” The scheme which applies to the first of these plans is sufficient for the second, which is our sole object. Therefore, in speaking of the first, we refer only to the latter.

“ Homes !” There is something cheering in the very title. A “ Colonial *Home* !” No ; rather a Home in that, which should no longer be a Colony, but a part, a glorious integral portion, of the empire of Great Britain itself.

By the scheme of “ Home Labour Reserves,” it is intended to offer a plan for reclaiming all the waste lands in England. We see great objections to this.

It is true that our objections are not abstract. They

are merely to be applied to the present state of England, which demands that no time should be lost. Our farmers too are suffering under the disheartening effects of Free-trade in corn. The waste lands of England would require years of cultivation, and the spirit of the country is too broken to attempt them. Moreover, the natural productions of the country are not in that state of natural boundless profusion, which exists in Canada. We cannot blind ourselves to the fact, that, under existing circumstances, it is sufficient to hope that cultivated lands here will not become waste, rather than to express a desire that waste lands may be cultivated. Let us now quote Mr. Hodson as to the means of getting money to do even this, and then apply his scheme singly to our proposed plan.

“ It appears,” he says, “ that we are paying in England alone upwards of six millions in poor-rates, and that, altogether, public and private charity costs the country thirty millions annually. The poor-rates alone would pay good interest for a loan of fifty millions, at five per cent., and liquidate the debt in a few years ; which sum, if properly applied, would be more than sufficient to attain the object required. A sum of the same amount as that so freely granted for the extinction of our West Indian slavery, would be amply sufficient to bring home colonization into efficient operation, providing always that the land before mentioned as being fit for profitable cultivation be placed in the hands of the Commissioners ; but, for security’s sake, suppose we calculate upon 50 per cent. more, or thirty millions, at 5 per cent. The annual charge on the poor-rates (if raised on their security) would be only £1,500,000 as interest. This loan of thirty millions could be liquidated in ten years after the

period that might elapse before the 'Homes' would be in thorough working order, and pauperism extinct, which we will calculate might take five years, so that the full interest of the loan would have to be paid during the first five years only, after which, by appropriating £3,000,000 annually, of the otherwise unrequired poor-rates, as a sinking fund, the charge on them would gradually diminish, till, at the end of the tenth year, there would be no longer any charge, or anything to be charged. Thus, it will be seen, that even going to the extreme, as to the sum of money that might be required, we shall not require so much for the regeneration of the physical condition of the poor, as is now squandered away so mischievously in its partial relief.

"It is not necessary to lay down any particular rules for the guidance of the founders of the 'Homes,' further than by saying, that unless the land of the Home Colonies is worked on somewhat the same principle as that pointed out for the Colonial Homes, the seeds of discord and division will be sown, and failure or embarrassment be the result. The mere animal wants of all must be supplied alike from the common store; and a share only of the profit be applied to remuneration; this is no theory of Communism, but simply a natural and wholesome restriction of abuse. Let the daily wants of each be supplied by a certain amount of rations; but let each, by his labour in the 'Home,' add whatever amount of prospective improvement may be in his power.

"It may safely be calculated, that of the eight million acres of good land lying waste in the kingdom, there would be at the least six of these millions so situated as to be available to the plough or spade—the remaining two might be left for grazing purposes, &c.

"Now, supposing it requisite to keep a reserve of 500,000 male labourers in this country, and that the aggregate number of individuals dependent upon them for support, amounted to 1,500,000, and that these would require support for about nine months in the year, we may safely assert that three million acres, including the land taken up by buildings, &c., would support them and keep up the establishments they would be living in, leaving the remaining three million acres to be cultivated for profit and other contingencies."

Instead of fifty, or even thirty millions, we ask for fifteen, nay, we said fourteen. In five years the whole mortgage might be transferred to a charge on the profits of the railway, and the saving of the poor-rates would thus be an entire and complete saving to the taxation of England!

Let us now follow Mr. Hodson to his "Colonial Homes," and see to what country he points, as the "Home" of Emigration.

"The country to which so great a number could be conveniently emigrated, would have to be regulated chiefly by the expense of travel and the capability and adaptability of it to the reception of such an inroad of emigrants. Economy of transit would point at once to our North American Colonies, where also there exist all the elements so necessary to the successful carrying out of the scheme, namely, land of superior quality and in vast quantities, belonging to the Crown, or called Crown lands, capable of supporting many more than we could supply. Of these colonies I would, on the score of climate and other natural advantages, give the palm to Canada West, and strongly recommend it as the best site for first operations. The great cost of transit places

most of our colonies in the southern hemisphere out of the question. I can, however, speak with more confidence of Upper Canada, and its adaptability to the success of emigrants, from a ten years' residence there; and as that country is quite capable of supplying waste land sufficient for present purposes, there is no occasion to go further even to fare better. Land has been, and is being, continually granted to individuals and companies, no matter how little they require it, providing they have interest enough to obtain the ear of those in authority. How much easier, then, could it not be obtained by the Commissioners appointed directly by those very authorities, when backed by the wants of the poor! We may, therefore, presume that the easiest part of the business will be the obtaining full control over as much of the waste land of the colony as might be required. I will, therefore, imagine the Commissioners to have obtained the land, and to have determined on forming twenty labour 'Homes,' or depôts of 50,000 acres each. These, from being in a perfectly wilderness state, would have to be prepared by pioneers for the arrival of the first annual instalments of emigrants; these pioneers should number about 1,000 to each 'Home,' and consist chiefly of able-bodied male adults, of good moral character, twenty only out of every hundred being females. The whole energies of these pioneers would be directed, under proper guidance and instruction, to the clearing of the land, and erecting the necessary buildings for the housing themselves, and the reception of the next instalment of emigrants."

The only difference is, that we do not confine ourselves to Canada proper, and that the grand concurrent scheme of a railroad is not conceived by Mr. Hodson. He is,

however, admirably qualified to speak, as a patriotic and practical observer. He knows the soil well, and what it can do. He shows what may be done by combination : he tells us that the price of the exportation of a labourer there to live comfortably is less than the expenditure necessary to provide for a convict for one year, and he proves that in five years the poor of this country might be made to support themselves. This is something like a scheme of Emigration ; but what is it to our combined and detailed plan, the value of our magnificent undertaking, the field of greatness we lay before the tutelary Divinity of England ; if she will but condescend to walk upon it ?

We will conclude with a few more statements from this interesting and valuable work, which, from the excellence of its plans and the spirit in which they are conceived and developed, we are delighted again indirectly to bring before the consideration of the public.

“ For Canada,” he observes, “ £20 a-head has been proved by actual experiment to be sufficient to pay cost of outfit, passage, support for one year, settle a family, and give them a cow besides.”

Let us now hear a little about some expenses that *are* incurred by Government :—

“ Towards furnishing the new Houses of Parliament	£109,000
Salaries and expenses of ditto	93,000
Repairs and alterations of palaces	115,000
Government prisons	150,000
Prosecutions at assize	700,000
For prison and convict service at home and in the colonies	125,000
Total for secret service (foreign and other)	316,000
Besides the very moderate sum, for expenses of six public offices, of	234,000

"This short list will show that we are prepared for, and do not object to, the annual voting away of hundreds of thousands, without any adequate benefit being received. Would it appear incongruous if, amongst the above, we met the following :—

To the Commissioners for the Extinction of Pauperism	£100,000
Expenses of their office	30,000
	<hr/>
	£130,000

Instead of

To the Poor-law Commissioners	£107,000
Expenses, ditto	35,000
Auditors of Unions	13,000
Union Schoolmasters	35,000
Medical relief	15,000
	<hr/>
	£275,000

"These figures tell of wealth easily given away, and in some instances to be productive of the worst results."*

* "In my calculations," he continues, "I have assumed, that each 'Home' shall cost £100,000 a-year; we should then require for the whole twenty the sum of £500,000 for their establishment, and £2,000,000 annually for five years afterwards, making in all £10,500,000, for which there would be no occasion to raise any loan or obtain any vote from Parliament, since but £2,000,000 would be wanted at a time, and for this we need only look to the all-sufficient poor rates, which may be levied as at present, only so much of them as might be required by the Commissioners for the Extinction of Pauperism, should be abstracted. This, during the five years of its requirement, would, together with the interest of the £30,000,000 raised for the Home Colonies, saddle the rate with a charge of £3,500,000 a-year, which, incidental expenses and all included, I will put down at £4,000,000, still leaving about £3,000,000 a-year to wind up the poor-law system with, which might surely be done within the five years specified as necessary for the entire doing away with pauperism. . . . Since the peace of 1815, we have spent in the relief of the poor £230,000,000. It is evident, that, if only for the purpose of saving this unnecessary expenditure of

Let us remember, that this is the scheme of a practical man for mortgaging the poor-rates to apply to combined emigration on a large scale to a fertile country, and thus without the great results we aim at, merely to relieve this country from pauperism : itself a great and mighty result, but in comparison to all we would develop—nothing ! For the concentration and vigour imparted by the railroad to the new country, which will be thus civilized, and to the Canadas now tottering from our sway, would be only equalled by the amazing power of expansion added to the inhabited territory. Whilst we would reserve all this to the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, create trade as well as agriculture, and open a field to all the chaotic mass of intellect and intelligence struggling within its narrow limits here ; we should at the same time check the rapidly increasing power of the United States by a fair equal growth of prosperity, and prevent this country from sinking, owing to the mistakes and follies of latter generations, which have entailed so much misery woven

money, we must sooner or later try and eradicate pauperism from the land. In twenty years, at the rate at which our law-compelled charity is annually increasing, we may safely calculate £150,000,000 would be required in order to continue the pauper-perpetuating poor-law system ; whereas, to effect its utter extinction, we should only require upon an average about £4,000,000 a-year for fifteen years."

Mr. Hodson next proceeds to sum up the profit of the Colonial Homes in five years, and proves that in fifteen years there would be 1,786,000 independent settlers. " I think," he concludes, " I have thus clearly shown, that without so much cost to the country as is now incurred in the vain attempt to relieve the wants of about a million and a half, no less a number than three millions and a half may be inducted into a more honourable mode of existence, and nearly one-half of them made independent landholders in another portion of the empire ; and that, in the short space of five years from its foundation, the whole scheme would be made self-supporting and remunerative."

in with her greatness, into a decayed and fourth-rate nation.

To sum up these observations briefly. A transference by the parishes to Government for three years, of the £6,000,000, yearly paid in poor's-rate in England and Wales, would not only give employment to the *able-bodied* poor and the convicts, but would be more than sufficient to complete the road, and annihilate the poor's-rate, except for the support of the "aged, the halt, and the blind." Government being invested with the resources of the poor's-rate, the amount might be applied to the payment of the principal and interest of a loan of £20,000,000.

Estimating the expense of laying down the railroad at £5,000 a mile, upon the average of *data* already laid down, the whole amount necessary for accomplishing the work would be £14,000,000. This may be considered a small sum when we find that railways in England, to the extent of 5,000 miles, are at this moment finished, at an outlay of £150,000,000; and it is further proposed to extend them to 10,000 miles; the estimated expense being no less than *Two hundred and Forty millions*.

It has been proposed (see "Major Carmichael Smyth's Pamphlet,) that our provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the two Canadas, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the New State of Western Caledonia (exclusively English), representing six distinct powers, should join in forming an Imperial Commission, which ought to be empowered to raise money, and to sell, give, or grant on such terms or leases as may appear to them desirable, any portions of land along the line of communication. In authorizing this Commission to borrow money upon the security of the land, under the guarantee of the

several provinces, it ought to be empowered at the same time to issue notes that might circulate along the line, and have the other powers of a bank ; and, with respect to the land, as the greatest part of it is still unoccupied, its breadth, for settlements and allotments—instead of being one mile or ten miles—might extend from twenty or thirty miles in favourable localities, on both sides throughout the railway belt.

With regard to the value of the land *in close proximity* to the railroad, we might have upwards of two millions of acres cleared in less than two years, after deducting the impracticable parts for culture ; which, at Lord John Russell's estimate of 20*s.* an acre, is worth £2,000,000. When it is considered, however, as it is already proved, in Upper Canada, that improved farms, with house, barn, and outhouses, orchard and about fifty acres within fence, rate at from £3. 3*s.* to £6. 6*s.* an acre, the value increases ; and, in three or four years, these two millions of acres alone, along the line, at £5 an acre, would represent a capital of £10,000,000.

Besides the illimitable amount of the sale and allotments of land along the line of road, the revenues would consist of the use and export of potash ; the sale of timber seasoned and in deals to be imported into England ; a duty upon whiskey and other spirituous liquors to be confined to the colony ;* additional duties on the navigation for ship tonnage ; the return of capital on free labour after paying expenses ; and, above all, the tolls on the railway, when partially or wholly opened.

Here let us conclude this part of the work. We had much, much more to say upon so vast and comprehensive a subject ; upon each of whose branches and minor details

* *Vide* APPENDIX.

separate volumes might be written. But we trust enough has been written to set speculation afloat and to excite men of business to work at so great an undertaking. For the present we leave this part of the subject: to recur to it, at a future period, with renewed energies, additional material, and, we trust, an accession of hope and confidence warranted by public feeling, approval and action.*

* Computing the quantity of ground cleared, at the moderate rate of one mile on each side of the line, the number of acres along the whole distance of 2,800 miles would amount exactly to 3,584,000. From this about one third may be deducted for the surface of the line and other obvious occupation of the ground in the road works, which would leave 2,412,667 acres for cultivation. With a sufficient force, this enormous quantity of land could be brought into crop in two, or at most three, years; and, at the Canadian rate of twenty bushels an acre, would produce 48,253,340 bushels; which, at eight bushels per quarter, amounts to somewhat above 6,000,000 quarters of wheat—fully equal to the maintenance of 2,500,000 settlers, emigrants, or labourers; for it is clearly ascertained that the produce of one acre of ground in Canada (that is, twenty bushels), is more than sufficient for the support of the individual producer. Seeing, then, that one man can clear five acres during the winter months, in the first harvest he would grow as much as would support himself and four others; or adopting the data already laid down on such undeniable authorities, we find that the five acres thus cleared would produce one hundred bushels; and the occupier has, therefore, twenty bushels for his own use, and eighty bushels to dispose of. Adopting the rule, however, already granted or proposed by the Local Government on the line from Halifax to Quebec, of ten miles on each side of the road, as proposed also by Whitney in the United States, the number of acres would amount to upwards of 5,000,000 in a distance of 400 miles; or, over a distance of 2,800 miles, to upwards of 35,000,000 acres—worth, immediately being cleared, 20*s.* an acre, or £35,000,000—being considerably more than half the yearly revenue of the United Kingdom! This value of 20*s.* an acre has been laid down by Lord John Russell. Whitney's plan, it may be observed, in its progressive stages, would occupy a period of more than twenty years in its accomplishment. Lord Durham, we believe, suggested in his report the ten-mile grant of land on either side of the road upon the line from Halifax to Quebec, which the Local Government has decided upon.

PART II.

**CONDITION OF ENGLAND. — ASSISTANT MEANS. — THE
STATE, THE CHURCH, THE DEBT, AND THE PEOPLE.—
INCORPORATION OF CANADA.**

CHAPTER I.

ASSISTANT MEANS.

THE statesman, who at the head of an enlightened Cabinet and a firm band of patriotic men representing no party, but the one undivided Truth, neither of defence nor attack, but of dignity insuperable to hypocrisy, expediency, and selfishness, should determine, undismayed, to steer the shattered vessel of the State into a harbour of safe repose, would deserve well of the present age and posterity, and would erect a majestic temple of Conscience to an approving Deity. As the duty of individuals is, undoubtedly, to provide for their own families, and those in the circle immediately around them, before subscribing to charities and joining societies for the increase of Missionaries to far quarters of the globe, so it is the duty of men in the wider sphere of political action to look to the welfare of the country, which has given them birth, before indulging in utopian schemes of the world's regeneration and extending their sympathies to foreign nations, in the pursuit of universal benevolence, peace, commerce, reciprocity, or any other phase of circumstances suited to a world of angelic manufacturers. Therefore, do not let it be imagined that we are drawing the picture of an enthusiastic benefactor to mankind, in the spirit of Carlyle, or in the language of a mystical magazine, or *æsthetic Quarterly*

Review ; but that we are attempting to give the sketch of a practical Minister, whose abilities, talents, experience, nay, whose whole identity unites to rescue his country from ruin. Such an ideal man, for we know not if the seeds of him exist, would be a more splendid egotist than Cicero, in proportion as his task and his difficulties would be greater. For the path of the former was open before him, and it required but moral daring and genius to pursue it, in an age, when patriotism was recognised as a virtue. But now everything is arrayed against so great a hero, and he would have to labour at and sift the weight of sand, which chokes and buries the social heart of the country, with an almost superhuman industry and daring. Could such a man exist, he would diminish the fame of all legislators before him to the mere twinkling of petty stars through the gloom of ages : he would be as original as the great philosophers of antiquity, practical as the greatest of modern engineers, and, indeed, would represent, not inaptly, the Shakespeare of Politics. No rule would shackle him : no custom bind him. Like Samson, he would shake the pillars of social abuse and accomplish the task of Time without the ruin of his country. He would be no "heaven-born Minister" of fraudulent expediency, purchasing a momentary security at the expense of the ruin of posterity : no venal shifter : no state quacksalver. The simplicity of Truth would in him outshine the arts of Machiavel ; as the glories of Gabriel drove forth the false intruder Satan. *He* would not go down to posterity, as has been predicted of a late specious Minister, with the notoriety of a "Hazaël"—*omnibus proscriptus sæculis!* No "dismal

universal hiss, the sound of public scorn," would attend the second funeral of his memory; after a deluded and blinded age had consigned him, with fatal and ill-won honours, to a sepulchre, whose best tombstone were the darkest midnight of oblivion and the deepest silence of the grave.

If a Dictatorship could be created for a short space of time in England and a Cromwell found again to do that which ought to be done, to what pitch of greatness might not England hope to arrive; with her resources, her industry, her power, her fleet, her army, and her dominion, east and west, north and south, over the world!

Let it not be supposed for an instant, that we would utter a breath against the Royalty of England. Perhaps, in the history of the world, there never was a throne adorned with more endearing virtues, than the British throne at present. It stands beautifully out in relief against surrounding darkness. This, in our opinion, has tended in no slight degree to check a disposition for change, and to soften the hearts of the overburdened. The domestic purity of our Queen, her desire, so often indulged, to be amidst her subjects, the amiable and moral character of her Consort and their high-toned example to the Court and people, make the palace a picture on which we love to dwell. No; all we mean to convey is, that it requires, at this moment, a giant lever, a single identity of greatness to relieve us—a *man of power, in power*—and we say ideally, "O, for a year of Cromwell to act and then restore the reins again!" Should a revolution occur, and brutality, begot of ignorance on famine, level all distinctions and cause the land to flow with the blood of all alike, no more painful picture

presents itself to our eyes, than the idea of such a family, as the Royal Family of England, insulted, or proscribed, or sealing with rude usage the disgrace and downfall of England. Unlike the unfortunate Louis and his family, they would have done nothing to merit it, but *all* in their power to endear them to the people. But Revolution, reserving her own children and guilty promoters for the last sweet morsel, preys on all alike, and virtue, worth and goodness are the first sacrifices on the tomb of social order. Of one thing we are certain, viz., that our Queen and Prince will be the first in the land, in time as well as in station, to set the example of the universal economy necessary to restore us to prosperity.

We do not want a fresh system in theory, but abuses are so entwined with the excellent proportions of the constitution, that a firm and careful hand must take down each several prop and pillar, with the cunning of an excellent workman, lopping and cutting off excrescences and rottenness, to remodel the whole again.

To make our grand scheme of retaining Canada perfect, and in order to carry out Major Smyth's great idea of making her the highway of the world's traffic, we must start with a clean balance-sheet and correct much at home. Though, by such a means as we have sought to develop, commerce might pour in upon us and we might derive great profits, we must be in a state to reciprocate the one and use the other. It does not suit a bankrupt to incur fresh liabilities. The start must be fair. Otherwise, we should become the recipients of nominal wealth and perhaps only make the fortunes of those around us, to declare a still mightier insolvency at a later date. Let us explain what we

mean. If our productive classes are not unincumbered, they will reap no benefit from an increased market. If we do not correct our free trade by restrictions in proportion to, if not greater than those of other countries, we shall become but a highway for the productions of China and the East. Wealth will merely gild the insolvent hands, through which it passes. If we incorporate Canada, which grand subject is the staple of our work, we can neither expect her to yield her neck to our national burden of debt and taxation, nor can we ourselves be expected to give her our privileges and adopt her for our own, unless she should pay a just proportion of our encumbrances. What, then, remains? Why, to lessen those encumbrances; till they are trifling for us and light for her. This, by a concurrent scheme of legislation, should go hand in hand with our grand proposition for making England, instead of the United States, the pivot on which the civilized world must turn. Otherwise our connexion, such as we propose it, with Canada, would be like the fellowship of the cracked earthenware with the brazen vessel—not leading to the benefit of either.

We must, then, reduce by no trifling measures our debt, our annual expenditure and consequently our taxes. Let us briefly see what presents itself to be done.

In the chief suggestion we are about to make, let it be distinctly understood that necessity and good feeling are alike our guides, as well as true religion and charity, and that neither scepticism, nor hatred, nor a daring contempt for the pure and holy doctrines of CHRISTIANITY, influences our hearts, or guides our pen. To those who may mistake us and fancy that we are

urged by petty feelings to attack a system, or a class, we say "Our mission is beyond this;" while, at the same time, we remind them, that charity is the principle on which their structure professes to be founded, and we demand that charity at their hands to interpret our motives, as well as to crown our views with success.

We propose, then, a rigid and wholesale economy—not on the cheese-paring system which Mr. Hume (whose feeling, however, we admire) is in the habit of propounding—but a system which shall touch *all* but the poorer classes; together with the sacrifice, we hope to say self-sacrifice, of the *existing* Church of England, with all her schisms, difficulties, and dangers, that she may assist to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and rescue the country; and this to the *ultimate, ay, and present, benefit of religion*—that we and the Church may live, and not die: that she may thus prevent much crime and fraud, demoralization and misery on the part of her flock and charge, all tending to the general wreck in which she, herself, amid scenes of blood and violence, will become the first prey and victim. In addition to this scheme, there are certain "jobbed" estates of the Crown, which might accompany the appropriation of that property, which the Church has held so long for the nation, for the sacred purpose, which God approves and justice demands, the lightening of the burden of the people. We also propose that taxes on necessaries—(for, do all we can, a surplusage of taxation, by which we mean all taxation on production, *must*, for a time, remain)—be shifted by wholesale regulations upon extravagance and luxuries—upon equipages, amusements, clubs, operas, horses save those of draft

and burden, used for the purposes of production—upon all that, which would fill a page to enumerate, and which marks, in our streets and houses, the miseries of starvation and makes one end of that contrast in the condition of Great Britain, which shocks the Deity, nature and the stranger within our gates. Let commissions of inquiry tax great fortunes, which encumbrances do not render nominal : above all, let alien Jews and gamblers in the funds pay for their licensed influence upon the credit of the country. Be the class necessary or not, it need fear no destruction. Avarice outlives all oppression and survives every disaster. For even King John and all his Barons put no stop to the usury, which they fleeced and tortured ; and the *secchins* and *besants*, plundered by them to the benefit of circulation, soon found their way back to the hoards of Isaac of York and his brethren.

We think that landed property has enough to struggle against ; for though we destine Canada to be the second granary of England, we deem it best that her own bosom should supply her first nourishment and we should regret to see one acre of ground go out of its present cultivation, which we consider would be the first faint, actual, apparent steps towards threatening London with a desolation such as marks the site of ancient Nineveh. Railway property, we think, might bear something, and the whole body of solicitors, whose incomes exceed a certain amount, might pay a heavy tax to the necessities of the nation.*

* Our reason for this proposition will be found hereafter stated. The British nation having already paid off, in many instances, more than the original sum borrowed, a modification of the often-proposed scheme of equitable adjustment might be adopted to assist our schemes. But

Let such things as these be done, and we will then re-construct a Church upon the purest doctrines of Christianity and maintain her amid the blessings of the people. We will then challenge the world to a competition of art in Hyde Park, or, if need be, on Salisbury Plain, without being constrained to check a sigh when we reflect that it is all “vanity and vexation of spirit;” that the tented field of industry itself is but

“A fancy fair built o’er the graves ’neath our feet;”

and that the stalled glories of English perseverance and talent are only the expiring energies of the mettled horse of labour to attain the goal of—*nothing*; whilst the pencil of a Holbein might draw the figures of Starvation and Destitution mingling in the crowd: with the workhouse, the prison and the convict-ship, looming in threatening significance behind.

We, that cannot now sustain 30,000,000 with a productive power equal to 600,000,000 of people—what might not our position be upon the face of the globe, if we chose to undo the cord of our own strangulation, at the price of a few knots wrought only by the fingers of evil?

We are *not* utopian; for that is not wild and fanciful which can be done and, being done, would save a people. The bitter folly is *not* to do it and to check with the sneer of superficiality and selfishness the dictates of philosophy, feeling and reason. Posterity will, no doubt, sift great facts of present petty motives, and she will say to our memories—“O foolish age!

without looking to abstract justice, we object at any time to the ruin of classes and the destruction even of a false system of credit. Otherwise, we do not think the nation owes the debt at all.

that invented steam and built grand termini to railways, why did you run blindfold to ruin? O House of Commons! deafened by your own voices; O Church! divided against thyself; O Ministers! that, in your struggles for the reins, when the chariot of the State was run away with, forgot only that it was necessary to stop the horses; O people! that suffered all; till your patience became frenzy and guilt lit the pile of ruin, which the torch of reason might have taught your eyes and foresight to avoid—answer, from the records of past history, if your folly was a sacrifice demanded by Heaven! No: we can reproach the Deity with nothing. He has given us all and sends even accident to mend the errors of our rulers. It is our own fatuity alone, that will not grasp at redemption.

It is a singular feature in the folly of the times, that whenever the subject of expenditure comes before the Parliament of the nation, an attempt is made to reduce the army and the navy. It is true, that we agree to a certain extent with a part of a dictum of the *Times*,* “that war is bankruptcy,” as we do entirely with the remainder of it, viz., that “bankruptcy is revolution.” War, indulged in to too great an extent, must impoverish a nation, especially when it does not make reprisals, or shine in framing treaties after conquest; while the poverty of a populous country, i.e., the poverty of the many and prosperity of the few, must lead to violent results. But are we to hope for the regeneration of

* *The Times*, January, 1849, quoted by a clever pamphlet on the state of the nation, entitled, “The Curse Removed,” from which we have taken some hints, although our views with regard to Church property were long since developed and decided.

mankind, because war is disastrous? Are we, after so many years of naval and military combats and victories, to lay aside our victorious arms and trust to the forbearance of our foes—in the face of America, in the face of France and of Russia? Why, what sickly trash—what weak abandonment of our defences! What paltry saving—a few thousands of men thrown out of employment upon society, to whom, whether our wars were well directed or not, we owe so much. Surely, this is the meekest desperation and the mildest drab-coloured folly; as if a Quaker should give an opiate to his own watch-dog and leave an open Bible near a bureau of plate, to convert a gang of expected desperadoes from their plans of pillage. Reduce the army and sink the navy!—ay, and build more mills and adult Sunday-schools, that the poor artizan may have *no* holiday: then, gently request France to disband some four hundred of her regiments; but first preach decorum to a wilderness of monkies, or expect a den of tigers to refrain from blood, in accordance with the fast of the Ramadan, or the purifying statutes of the Book of Moses.

We regret to say, that it would be the right policy of the Government at this moment to *increase* the army—of a selfish and wicked government, from internal motives, to check, with a strong hand, if it can, the first throes of famine, misery and oppression;—of a wise government, from external considerations, looking at our position abroad; at the preparations of France, amid all her troubles, which alone have kept her quiet, as far as we are concerned; at the gigantic schemes of the United States and the silent monster growth of Russia. The introduction of steam-ships

renders it necessary to have fleets and armies ready. A week's delay is ruin. We do not, perhaps, apprehend invasion, though we cannot see the impossibility of it, were we unprepared. We do not think that even Hullah's chorus of "Rule Britannia" would frighten the enemy from our shores, as easily as the red cloaks of some old women are said to have done in former days on the coast of Wales. Who can count upon French sympathies, antipathies, or action? What, if this were reserved for the last tableau of the drama, which commenced with the abdication of the "Napoleon of Peace?" They hate us with an inveterate hatred. The expense of an attempt with their army and navy would not be great; since their army always exists, and their steam fleet is always ready.*

The French have hitherto, to a certain extent, found a safety-valve for their warlike tendencies in Algeria. They have lately indulged in a campaign against Rome—an indecent interference in the sight of the civilized world, unprecedented in history, as it was an outrage upon consistency, good sense and the peace of Europe. France! the irreligious, the democratic, the driver forth of sovereignty for a trifling offence—France! the immodest step-daughter of the Roman Catholic Church, daughter of Revolutions, prostitute of every sanguinary change—*she* to reinstate the intolerance and bigotry of mediæval cardinals and re-lead the personified dotage of Italian Papacy to its throne, at the head of revolutionary bayonets! Sure, such a "fantastic trick," as this, was never "played before high Heaven!" But what, if this France

* The French are now most actively employed in ship-building. The accounts in our journals, of the vessels launched at Brest, Toulon,

should, by some stroke of policy, to turn internal discord and ruin to more welcome and congenial external strife, make a grand simultaneous attack upon her old enemy, England? Would not this be popular? Would not this re-furbish the somewhat worn-out name of Napoleon? A sudden dash of this kind would not be an expensive war to them. At any rate to us it would be far more so. What, if the United States should grasp at Canada, or Canada throw herself upon the Punic protection of the United States; whilst Russia, at the same time, stretched an iron mace, like a mailed and threatening Thor, over Constantinople? Is this a time to disband troops and reduce the number of sailors? No: we would rather, at this moment, see 30,000 men added to the British army and navy—two-thirds to the former and a third to the latter. It is another army we must think of disbanding.

What, then, do we propose?—A present tax of 20 per cent. upon all incomes of the Church exceeding £300 a-year and less than £700, with an ascending scale till it diminish in proportion those which count up to £30,000; and the appropriation, *at the death of its present holder*, of every incumbency, preferment, or emolument whatsoever, to form a sinking fund, or rather to go directly towards the payment of the national debt. A cession of tithes,* with the exception of lay impro-

&c., tell this; besides, the introduction of steam will do much to equalize the future combats. It will destroy the *prestige* of our superiority and the character of the British sailor, and display a new arena for naval conflict.

* We do not thus directly remit the tithe to the land-owner; but we admit that he and the farmer would be the gainer. For taxes on

priations, which are become absolute vested property, towards paying the interest of the debt. The yielding of the Universities into the hands of laymen, where something else shall be taught than rebellious bigotry, or renegade tendencies to the Church of Rome, in the very bosom of institutions pledged to Protestantism and where the established religion of the country, together with morality and the sublime nature of the attributes of the Supreme Being, shall be taught by competent professors, as *contra-distinguished from dogmatical assumption and verbal mysticism*. In fine, an interregnum of the Church for the benefit of the poor, with the solemn admission on her part to the Deity, that she has not well performed her sacred offices: all her voided estate being placed in the hands of Government, till the prosperity of the nation allow a more chaste and glorious temple to be built up again.* And this, for the honour of human

the land and the cost of agricultural production would, by such payment of a part of the interest of the national debt, be undoubtedly diminished; and in this way, the thing would equalize itself, in the end benefitting all classes of society.

* This is not the place to enter minutely into the exact mode of the change. However, we would not injure the existing clergy. Perhaps it would be better for Government to have the lives of the present incumbents valued and either buy up their life interests, or pay an annuity. If they remained in their duties, they would merit more than if they ceased to be Churchmen altogether and merely received an equivalent for the loss of their livings. What then should be done with the churches? Let them remain in the hands of Government for the declared worship of a majority of the people, to be united with the State as before. The Liturgy, however, might, at this moment, receive some valuable alterations. It strikes us, that until the Church be re-modelled upon economical and Christian principles, the service might be performed by laymen of education and station, who should sign an adherence to the

nature, and the dignity and credit of Christianity and true religion, we would have voluntarily proceed from the voice of the majority of Churchmen themselves. Though we would give all credit to that which relinquishes and denies itself the things of this world, yet it is to a sacrifice, if need be, of such a nature as this, that the ministers of Christ's religion are sworn and pledged by their very tenets, faith and doctrine, founded on the ministry of Christ and His apostles themselves. Mark, we destroy and cut adrift no class of men. We but require a partial abandonment of the loaves and the fishes from the living. It is merely to yield back, at the termination of their lives, the sacred trust they have received from the hands of the nation, in the name of God, to the nation, for the sacred cause of humanity and patriotism. Ay, and to save themselves and their great trust from the impending wrath to come. We repeat, it is the salvation of Religion, as well as of England, we advocate in propounding this sacrifice.

main doctrines of the national religion, and receive a licence from the Government. Many of the existing clergy would continue, doubtless, to fulfil their ministry. But this should be matter of choice. Of education we are about to speak hereafter. An equitable adjustment of claims might be made according to present means, services, character and learning throughout, by means of a Royal commission. At any rate, in the new scheme of an Established Church, we hope that no clergyman would have more, or *less*, than £200 a-year, and no bishop more than £2,000. Men would then enter the Church more frequently from the natural bent of their character and from really pious motives. Curates would no longer be half-starved and be forced to appear as gentlemen on less than the pay of mechanics. Imagine the number of clergymen that would be maintained for the value of one *sinecure* in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Exactly seventy-five working ministers of Religion!

To say that there is anything wild and visionary in such a scheme, is to assert that the very principles of Christianity are so, and to demonstrate that the whole existence of the Christian Protestant Church is a *system of contrary fact founded upon an adverse fable*.* We do not wish to enter upon a controversy about what texts of the Holy Gospel are to be taken in their literal meaning, and what are to be rendered according to the convenience of their interpreter. But we claim for ourselves the privilege of inscribing on our banners the essence and spirit of all that Christ and His disciples said and taught, best rendered by the words, "Charity, Meekness, and Purity," and let Conscience wave them for man's guidance in the light of Heaven. Pointing to these, we say, "Up, ye that slumber, up, and be doing!" whilst far beneath, worldly Wisdom is sternly whispering the necessity of her lesson.

Let the Church humbly return her responsibility to its Divine Giver. She has shown herself in many ways, which we will not abstain from briefly enumerating, unworthy of the trust. Abuses and indulgence are rife in her. Let her demand a fresh lease, a new

* If the system be founded on a fable, the Church denies its own fable. If it be not a fable, but a truth, how dreadful the increased responsibility of their utter and profane contradiction! In the annals of corporations and societies, there are many instances of a complete change of principles, so that you no longer trace their origin and first creation in their after-proceedings—whilst only the name remains to puzzle the writers of "Notes and Queries," even that becoming changed in its abstract meaning when applied in illustration of other things—following in its change the aberration of that to which it was originally the title. But what shall we say to that which still defies and quotes, preserves and contradicts; as if an army, whose first nucleus consisted strangely of Quakers, should persist in calling itself "Peace," whilst engaged in the sacking of cities and the desolation of the world!

mission, and remember, that, in so doing, she benefits the poor, that die in workhouses and the streets ; whilst her ministers too often eat the bread of idleness and waste at the expense of a nation. Let her remember, that she but anticipates a far more evil day and complete ruin, and will nobly assist to save the blood of thousands to be shed in the dreaded Apocalypse of Revolution and Famine. Alas ! if ye will not do it, *then ye must*. In our next chapter we shall enter more fully upon this subject.

CHAPTER II.

VOLUNTARY SACRIFICE OF THE CHURCH.

THE treatment of this subject is the most difficult task we have proposed to ourselves.* In whatever way it is handled, it must give offence to a great many. The superstitious will join the worldly-minded to crush us with reproof, and silence us with hostility and slander. We wish to refrain from making an attack upon the Church. But how is it to be done? Every text we quote, every fact we bring to witness, will be found condemnatory, if not misapplied. Their application, however, we will leave in great measure to the sense of the nation. Conscious of the grave nature of our

* Rear Admiral Sir Charles Napier has just appeared in the character of a well-meaning but bold Reformer of abuses, which none can question. His motive has been patriotic and his pen determined as his sword, relying as he does on the sacred nature of his cause. Is not the treatment of Sir Charles Napier a recent sacrifice upon the shrine of humbug and wanton abomination, which ought to disgust all England? His high-minded exposures of a corrupt system have only succeeded in laying up in ordinary one of England's most gallant seamen, viz., himself. His *discretion*, forsooth, is impugned; but with a mischievous art, which leaves the insinuation open that his tactics afloat are indiscreet, as well as his righteous assertions inconvenient to the respectable "owlery;" against which the glories of England have to wage a more arduous conflict than they have to oppose against the cannon of her enemies.

undertaking, before we begin to argue, we feel the necessity of citing the few following sentences from the mouth of Christ himself, to give us courage to speak out, in opposition to a powerful hierarchy and a priest-ridden community, sentiments, in whose very truth lies their danger, as they are subjected to the cruel misinterpretation of malignity, to which interest alone supplies the venom of slander.

In his various charges to His disciples, and condemnation of riches and the pomps of pharisaical conduct and deportment, we find, amongst many others, the following passages :—

“Distribute unto the poor, and seek treasures in Heaven.” “In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.” “I have compassion on the multitude, because they have nothing to eat.” “He that is not against us is on our part.” “Go thy way: sell whatever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven, and come, take up the cross, and follow me.” “And he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved, for he had great possessions.” “And Jesus saith unto His disciples, ‘How hardly shall they that have riches enter the kingdom of God.’” “Which devour widows’ houses, and for a pretence make long prayers, these shall receive the greater damnation.” “Then He called His twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority, and He said unto them, ‘Take nothing for your journey: neither staves, nor scrip, nor bread, nor money; neither have two coats a-piece.’” “Rather give alms of such things as ye have.” “But woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint, and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over

judgment and the love of God." Woe unto ye, also, lawyers, for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne." "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, in your purses." "And He commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey: no scrip, no bread, no money in their purse." "Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes." "Beware of covetousness, but seek the kingdom of God." "Give alms; provide yourselves a treasure in Heaven." "Take care that your hearts be not charged with surfeiting and drunkenness and the cares of this life."

Thus, by the very words preached from, every Sunday, throughout the churches of the land, we judge them. Is not the fact of the Christian Protestant Church in the nineteenth century a lie, in the face of these? Have words a meaning, and do sentences convey a sense to hearing?

We might now proceed to quote the fathers of the Primitive Church, who bear an equally severe testimony to her duty, and we leave to the sense of all, whom interest does not affect with a voluntary blindness of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, to make the application true and identify the meaning. But it is sufficient to observe, that, during the first ages of the Church, she was voluntarily supported. The Council of Antioch expressly forbade the bishops to have a part to themselves of the goods of the Church, which were given them to distribute. The commencement of tithing was in the corruption of the Primitive Church. The ancient canon enjoins them to be content with food and raiment alone.

So much for self-condemnation. We doubt not that, amid her schisms and struggles, enough has been

said lately, even by the modern sectarians of the Church herself, to illustrate our position ; but we take, we trust, higher ground in leaving these to prey upon the common vitals, without exacting any due from the frankness of violence, or stealing one argument in the confusion of prelatical controversy and the sway of the "Abbot of Unreason." Let us not in this manner, at least, turn their own hands against themselves. To us it is a spectacle too melancholy even to be edifying ; for we lose in the view of this childish rancour and this self-immolating intolerance, our sense of its furtherance of the plans and ideas we now herald to the public.

When, however, we see this ancient inveteracy, this "*vetus atque antiqua simultas*" assuming the form of a new contest on an infinitesimal point of faith, we can scarcely shut our eyes to the fact, that if Christ himself should re-appear amid the money-changers in his English Protestant Temple to censure and reprove the conduct of the Established Church, the greater and wealthier part of that church would prosecute him for libel, challenge the purity of his motives, contradict his interpretation of his own mission, and call the Son of God himself an Infidel and an Atheist !

Let us leave these high grounds of censure for awhile, to revert briefly to them towards the end of our chapter, after first regarding the worldly justice and reason of our plans. First, as to the probable fate of the Church, should it continue in the enjoyment of its present revenues and position ; and, secondly, as to the secular right of the Church to maintain* an oppo-

* We do not by this mean an allusion to the present episcopal con-

sition to the dictum of government and the demands of the nation. In the speedily approaching general ruin, which, on looking around us, we cannot help anticipating, should the same line of conduct be pursued much longer by the selfish ignorance of party sciolists, there can exist little doubt that the Church will fall the first and greatest victim. If the country and her rulers have not sufficient moral force to achieve their own redemption, physical force will step in to assist them by bloody and terrible means. A war, with our land out of corn cultivation, and consequently a famine—nay, even the silent working of our present rash measures, will soon lead to a *revolution of the belly*. The text of *Isaiah* will not apply to the English people. It did not to the French,* even under a fourth, nay, in our opinion, a tenth part of the pressure which threatens us. “And, my hand hath

flict about the regeneration of baptism, and the defiance of a part of the Church to her Majesty’s authority in Council; but the spiritual right of the Church to keep its tithes and benefices when they are recalled by the givers into their own possession.

* The amount of tyranny to be borne by a people, when they are not represented by an assembly, in some shape, of their own, is inconceivable. But they cannot bear famine. The causes of famine do not produce revolutions; for the majority of the people care little how they are governed. Give a nation food and comfort, and you may enslave it; but no amount of freedom, actual or fanciful, will compensate for starvation. The French were frightfully and disgustingly tyrannized over; but the actual and immediate cause of their first Revolution, which was the parent of those which followed, was the “belly.” By Revolution we do not mean Reform, or a change of dynasty; but a social earthquake, when property, and consequently life, become entirely insecure; and yet, at the very moment that we are writing, the Legislature is disputing whether Ireland shall have a £12 or an £8 qualification: leaving the more important questions of the social condition and the distress of the sister country untouched.

found as a *nest* the riches of the people, and, as one gathereth eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth, and there was none that *moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped.*" So might, undoubtedly, those wicked rulers have said who, from the time of William the Third, pledged the future labour of the nation, dishonestly and illegally to carry out their views,—*as long as the delusion lasted, and succeeding ages chose to, and could, bear the wrongful burden.* But, in the end, the vulture does return to the nest, from whence the eggs are stolen, in the shape of famine and misery, and then woe to the few that live on the production of the many! It is thus that the Church will fall a victim as it did in France. What was the fate of priests there? They were chased, as if they had been noxious vermin and torn forth from every hole and corner to destruction. The gown and clerical tonsure were the signs for instant death. It was a reversed massacre of Saint Bartholomew from one end of the land to the other. Regard the popular feeling with reference to priests during the late disturbances at Rome, where priestly misrule had so long been established in a corrupt hot-bed of wickedness. The innocent suffered alike with the guilty and, whilst the wealthier purple-stockinged and red-hatted prelates escaped behind the intervening points of French, Spanish and Neapolitan bayonets from the fury of the movement party and its blind instrument the mob, several wretched monks and many of the humbler and, consequently, less guilty ministers of a creed, whose foundations are similar to our own, perished by a frightful death, torn to shreds like their robes, on the Ponte St. Angelo. But what has been the consequence in France?

Probably, among all the nations of the earth, no priesthood exercises better its functions amid the sick and poor and is more pure and worthy in its conduct, than the present church in France. With moderate means, they seek, by piety and good works, to re-establish their fallen and degraded religion. At least this is the case of the majority. Never have we been more charmed in our lives by the observance of a true ministry of the gospel, than during our late residence in France. How different the style and conduct of the Bishop of Marseilles, for instance, whose friendship we had the honour to enjoy, to the apparent mission and ministry of him of Exeter, or London. Accessible to all, ever visiting the sick, the janitress of his gate a simple old woman, his time devoted to the wants, necessities and spiritual guidance of the people! There, we recognized something like the apostle of a Saviour, whose glory was not vain-glory, whose lessons were simplicity and meekness, and whose divine mission of charity breathed the fragrance of humility around. But here we ask, is the word Bishop synonymous with cold-hearted and worldly arrogance? or does it suggest a wider gift, a greater power of beneficence to the poor? Is it an amiable, or even a moral term? Still our task is to advocate that this regeneration of the Church find not its baptismal font in the blood of any, save that Blood which it teaches was once shed as the great sacrifice of all. We would o'erleap the guilt of so terrible a purification and for this make our appeal to the members of the Christian Church, that they may anticipate the fierce demands and angry passions to which their own misconduct and the folly of the governments to which

they have been wedded, subject them on the part of an indignant and suffering people.

It is for this that we say, let a voluntary sacrifice be made and let a corrupt church die a natural death, to revive under more virtuous auspices in more prosperous and better days. An evil church has fallen upon evil times. Her existence robs the poor and insults the Deity. For awhile, let her perish. In war, churches are pillaged, shrines are melted down, sacrilege scarcely seems a crime. The trooper and his horse bivouac in the cathedral: the parsonage and glebe, or their equivalent, are devastated or demolished. But in a civil, or rather a social war, how much greater their ruin! Such a dedication, on the part of the church in general to the cause of mercy, were as hallowed as the self-immolation of the high-souled individual clergyman, who should perish in attending the last moments of the dying on the field of battle, or in visiting with consolation and comfort the pest-house, or the hospital.

Let not optimists fancy that this country is beyond the age of physical force. Let them not imagine that the character of Englishmen is not capable of such deeds as have blackened the pages of French history. We are *not* so prone to change, so volatile, or even so bloodthirsty by nature. But, as the English character is more stern and uncompromising, more rugged and obstinate, than that of our neighbours, so will the struggle be more protracted and dreadful here, when it does come. An Englishman stands the test of prosperity better than an inhabitant of any other nation. He feels that comfort ought to be his birthright, and that fantasy, folly, mischief, and change, do not

produce comfort. But we have yet to learn, that when the hour of patience and endurance is exhausted, when there is no health or hope of health left, when "the good time coming" is no longer whispered in his ear, by the most sanguine or impudent of his rulers, or misguiders, the Englishman will exhibit any more softness in his composition, than the Spaniard, the Frenchman, or the Hungarian, under the pressure of similar circumstances. He is already demoralized, and ruin soon hardens vice, till it assumes the terrific features of crime. Who shall set bounds to his rage, when he finds that his birthright is sold and all his privileges gone: when the giant moan of hunger shall arise over the land, like the muttering of a tempest? * Have hundreds felt and written as we do, without reason? Is all this fanciful?

Does the "mirth of the land" still exist? Are we among a crowd of false prophets predicting woe in vain? Is it a morbid phantasm that flits before us? Are the people happy? Are their prospects other than evil, terribly evil? No! All this is true. Our pages, like those of the many that have hitherto been strewed to the idle winds, as perhaps may be their fate, in reality resemble the leaves magnetically stirred, ere the thunder peal and the rain patter, as the livid scowl of the coming storm darkens the devoted valley at

* The father of one of the writers of this work, a city merchant, farmer, and M.P. in his day, as well as a political writer and pamphleteer, a warmer of Peel and an associate of Cobbett, told his son, that for thirty years he had never laid his head upon his pillow without thinking of the fatal and dreadful consequences to be entailed, sooner or later, upon this country by its monetary system and the dead-weight of debt laid upon the neck of the people by a succession of mistaken, or trading politicians.

night. But the tempest may pass away and leave the land smiling, whose steeples still point unscathed by lightning to heaven. Not so with us : when the plague of darkness shall have been suffered, by the cruelty and obstinacy of those whose duty it is to avert evil, to thicken in threatening terror over our devoted heads.

Would this picture be considered much overdrawn, were it painted of Ireland ? And yet everything tends to reduce England to the condition of Ireland ; but with no resource beyond : with a population far more numerous, and one that will resist, before the frame of famine becomes so bloodless as to die on the roads and in ditches : the last throb of pulsation and the expiring breath to frame a curse being supplied by the *nourishment* of sea-weed and carrion ; whilst the food and money of the people is shipped daily beneath their eyes from their devoted shore. Our circumstances will be different under a similar pressure. No sister country will vote us £8,000,000 of borrowed money and keep us down at the same time with friendly bayonets ; whilst opera-singers and ballet-dancers, enriched by her magnificent bounty and sometimes patronised by members of her Protestant hierarchy, embark each successive season laden with wealth wrought out of the taxed excess of a people's industry, to count their monstrous gains upon a foreign shore. But we shall fight and struggle, and break up the mighty stagnation from its muddy foundations and, amidst the general wreck, the hierarchy with all its institutions, perversions and concomitants, will fall.

THIS is the fate we would avert. So much for probable consequences, should the hearts of men still be hardened to postpone a necessary sacrifice.

Now, let us proceed to consider our right to demand that sacrifice upon minor grounds than those of the stern necessity, which destroys law, and is superior even to justice in the demonstration of the theory, or solution of the problem, that the few must yield to the many what the urgencies of the many demand. We hold, then, that the Church, in her temporal essence, is a mere Life Estate, or rather Tenancy at will of the people, and that the Government may, without injustice, possess itself of the Reversion, as Trustees for the Nation, whilst it may, also, under the pressure of necessity, levy fines upon abuses, enormities, monster endowments and even improprieties and schisms. We compare the revenues of the Church to the pay of the army, which it thus resembles in a sense beyond that of being called "MILITANT," or an "*army of martyrs*;" such as it will be said we wish to make it. Now, it is not questioned, that, *if we could do without it*, the Government would be perfectly at liberty and would merit well of the country, were it to disband the standing army and fold its banners and shrine its silver kettledrums in our Cathedrals and banquet-halls, with the memory of those deeds of glory for which it has been distinguished. We assert, then, *that since we cannot do without it*, a similar power is vested in the Government to lay aside the pomps and ceremonies of the British Church and to cease to furnish the silver shrines, which cause us to purchase religion at too dear a rate for a sinking and encumbered nation. The spirit of the Gospel will not die for that, nor the memory of Christ and His disciples fade away from its dwelling-place in the hearts of men. The startling infidelity which is one

of the characteristics of this material age will perish for want of opposition. For how many weak, ay, and strong minds there are, that are unable to separate the idea of the Deity from the interpretation and conduct of his ministers and are led to deny Christ ; because the corruptions of the Church bewilder their understandings ! Without intolerance and abuse, we should not have a Proudhon.* Thus, God is condemned often of His creatures, through the agency of man ; as if certain representatives pretended that they alone were sent by the Lord of a far country to some distant island, and should succeed in giving false ideas of that Lord to the colonists there, who should make answer, and say,—“ By your deeds here, we are alone permitted to know This, your Ruler ; therefore, we will neither pay tribute to, nor acknowledge, Him, who, ye *say*, hath sent you. We pray you, therefore, begone ; for we have seen the error of your ways, and as the servant is, peradventure so shall be the master.”

Having stated our belief, that the property of the Church is held at will under the existing government of the nation, let us briefly urge our reasons and authority for such belief, and then inquire, why a minority in religious belief, who have fulfilled in no single parti-

* We do not assert that Proudhon is a result of immediate intolerance. He is a curious monster, cast up from beneath the mud of social ruin ; but his existence is the result of ages of bigotry and corruption. He has (in his essence) been engendered by a fungous growth beneath the corner-stone of religious despotism ; and as, when an old mouldering flag-stone is pulled up, flat noxious insects creep forth and wriggle their tails in the sun-light, so beings, like him, crawl forth on the breaking up of old edifices, and sting and run about for awhile ; till men have had time to consider how they shall re-build amid the ruin.

cular their promised duties under their own dispensation, have been permitted so long, to their own corruption and destruction, to prey upon the vitals of the nation? What is their legal tenure of the property they claim, admitting, which we do not, that a religious establishment of any kind is abstractedly necessary for the existence of Christianity? During the Reformation,* the Government made a fresh disposal of the revenues of the Church, after providing for the life interests of the then present possessors. Therefore, if the Government at another period should choose to adopt for its spiritual aid the sect of the Muggletonians, it has a clear right to do so, by the very example of the Established Protestant Church itself. But we want it for the poor; yet, if we know anything of Churchmen, they would rather yield it to Turks, than to any other sect approaching themselves: so bitter is the animosity which a hair's breadth inspires. If a digression might be allowed, we should here observe how singular it is that the spirit of Papacy, driven away from its rock and stronghold at home, should now, wandering forth, find a refuge and a home in the heart of that country, which first shook her tenets to the foundation and raised the antagonistic principle of Protestantism to power and triumph. Singular, that these late converts—shall we call them so?—equal in their modern bigotry the most violent spirit of the middle ages. They delight in ascetical usages, in the mysticism of emblems and the furor of a narrow faith. Theirs is the uncharitableness, the intolerance and casuistry, which form the worst compound of a religion that is

* *Vide* Hallam, "Constit. Hist. of England," p. 78.

perverted by worldliness, whilst yet aspiring to mystical refinement—a stone riddle, or sphinx, with eyeless orbits turned up to heaven, and feet of brass. Yet with these men, no means of conversion has been used, save the breath of the moral epidemic that has tainted the air of the groves and cloisters of academical learning; whilst a mysterious surplice of vengeance has fallen over the shoulders of mild ecclesiastics, otherwise settled down quietly to their duties amid Lincolnshire fens or Worcestershire vallies: and nothing but an invisible flirting of holy water in the faces of dull research, or upon the dial-indices of the most common-place minds that ever ventured to interpret the Bible to apple-visaged rustics, has operated to drive them into the bitterness of controversial dispute.

They are only equalled by the party most indignant at their secession, and who, therefore, most nearly at bottom approach themselves;* for we believe that all those most prominent in the schisms and renegade caprices, which are rife, would rather sit down to a supper of herbs with an Atheist, than hear grace to God pronounced over a Lord Mayor's feast by the lips of a brother, who should differ with them in a tittle of the doctrine of baptism, regeneration, the inherency of sin, or in any of those minute mustard-seeds of faith, or its pretence, which generate the roots of the enormous poison-tree of Tractarianism, or in any of those shades of diversity of opinion, which afford the origin of what the *Times* calls a "Shandean" fight over the schismatic bone in the door-place of a minor booth in their Rag-fair of Intolerance.

* Amongst whom now rages a subdivision of a schism. Truly, "a house divided against itself," &c.

Not that clergymen are generally careless of the merits of the meats over which they are called upon to pronounce a blessing in the shape of grace ; but the cannibal fury of *Ombos* and *Tentyra* would scarcely suffice to exhibit, in their minds, a sufficient fervour of proselytism to the shadow over which they stumble. Yet the inhabitants of these two towns quarrelled, as is related by the memorable lines of *Juvenal*, about which or what things should compose their very gods themselves—should it be an onion, or an ibis, a crocodile, a stone, or a monkey—

“ Crocodilon adorat

Pars hæc ; illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin :

Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,

Porrum et cœpe nefas violare——”

In our days, men no longer fight for the honour or existence of their respective gods, a motive reconcileable to sense, if we pass over the absurdity of the selection ; but in place of this miserable heathenism, they *do* acknowledge a Sublime Being, and fight merely about *how* He shall be worshipped in the infinitesimal ceremonies and dogmas of provincial doctrine. In the midst of all this, human nature is equally weak, fanciful and vicious, as when *Juvenal* spoke out his awful censures, *Rabelais* clothed his keen sarcasm in an exciting obscurity, or the controversialists *Alexander* and *Arius* splintered their pointed lances in the face of nations, and in defiance of an emperor ; to the total disregard of the well-being and existence of that Church, of which they were both erring and mischievous supporters.

Finally, we must state our belief, that could such a

thing be fancied, as that the whole world should godless reel and vibrate over the abyss of infidelity, and Creation, by the voice of man, deny its Maker, and spread a challenge over all the earth, like a carpet, tempting the Almighty to spurn his footstool and strike out Electricity from the deadened soul of matter—leaving impiety a blank on the record of Time, and ingratitude a floating and confused tradition in the memory of Angels,—if such a dread moment can be imagined by our fears, and such an act of punishment attributed to justice that is ever tempered by mercy, it would be occasioned by the hypocrisy, which has dared to tamper with the revelations of God to man, the falsehood and bigotry of priests, the monstrous perversions of religion and the cunning of the links woven by Pharisaical abomination, between the ignorance and superstition of the masses and their own animosity and intolerance; whilst the few are taught to rush into far worse perils than these;—viz. the scornful impiety of hatred, or the spurious infidelity of desperation. But anger has spread its flight, where not even thought should dare to wander. Let us recur in a humbler strain to our subject.

The Church is always liable to dissolution by the government, with a view to re-establish, or re-model it. This is in fact what occurred in the reign of Henry VIII., who, on the breaking up of the abbeys and religious houses, appropriated to himself and his courtiers a considerable share of the plunder. Thus, into the hands of a wicked king and the greedy noblemen, who supported his views and iniquities, fell the half of that which we now claim for the poor, which was then dedicated by him to the maintenance of the

reformed religion. But the Church is no corporation. It has no prescriptive term of duration. It is not inherited by descent. Nor do those who exercise the gift of presentation by which its offices are perpetuated, use their privilege, we fear, for the benefit of Religion, or the poor; but rather for the same worldly purposes, which instigate the education of its members. To whom then ought its revenues to revert? To the trusteeship of the existing government for the benefit of the nation.

We can show that the ownership of Church Property has always been treated, as if it vested in the State. How else could Simony have been made illegal by Parliament? Every act of Parliament, down to the present time, has been framed in such a manner as to show this plainly. The government has interfered with no other property in a similar manner. In addition to this we maintain that it has a right to determine *what the Church is*. It has also prevented, by the statute of mortmain, the acquisition of property to the purposes of church maintenance, and has as much reason to recall a conditional gift, as to prevent a free one. In every country in Europe, save one, where the Church *is* the State,* and even she, in her double identity and capacity, found it necessary to purge herself, the principle that the Church is created by, and is subordinate to, the constitution of the nation, has been recognized. If at any time a pretext for duration and ownership could have existed,

* Even the revenues and property of Rome have been sold to pay the national debt, and for the exigencies of the State. The Cardinals, for a long time back, have been very poor in comparison to their former wealth.

it was on the part of the Roman Catholic Church. They were the individuals robbed, if any, of an ill-gotten gain. But the Reformation is the bar or statute of limitations to the rights of the Church ; at least even the Reformed Church will acknowledge this, except such of her members as have reverted to Papacy, in the double fervour of twice-ventured Renegadoes.

There is another consideration, which presents itself, irrespective of the arguments above. Charity towards the poor was the condition and understanding upon which the Christian Church acquired its earliest enjoyment of prosperity. This can be proved with regard to Tithes in the strongest degree. If, then, Churchmen have utterly failed in the administration of duties, so morally imposed upon them, there exists a clear right to interpret against them in an equitable light. We repeat, having shown that they have no Law, this fact should in Equity go far to drive them out of court.

Let it be constantly remembered, that though we plead against, we only argue with, the Church. We ask for a voluntary concession of rights, which are proved to be absolute wrongs, at their hands, after showing them the justice and necessity of the case, and we expect that the bishops will present a memorial from all the good and most of the indifferent clergy, who cannot be so bad as to deny their Saviour and Truth, in the next Session of Parliament, praying for a dissolution of the Church for the good of their country, as the lives fall in. Some of them may go so far as to offer the benefices of the living. Be it for us, or rather the gratitude of the nation, to deprecate the fervour of martyrs in these modern primitive Christians.

To those who hold the doctrines of Machiavel, or reason with Dugald Stewart, upon the necessity of the Church as a civil institution, merely to support a government, and exercise a superstitious sway over the people, without any consideration of its higher duties, its holy origin, and its emanation from the Deity, we reply, that such a national hypocrisy is, indeed, purchased at too dear a price. But we scorn to answer these holders of the "Double-doctrine," who deem, like the priests of Isis, or the Roman mythology of old, that the people must believe and tremble before the sway of their own religious Infidelity. We have no argument with those, who go to church merely to set an example to their servants, and think, in the knowledge which dares to sit, secure in the philosophy of lightning rods, beneath the temple they profess to dedicate to the Divinity, that there is no union of silent blasphemy with an odious hypocrisy, which must draw down the wrath of Heaven.

It is a melancholy thing to say, or to believe, that this hypocrisy is valuable in a State or an individual; even though it arrests open licence, and puts a check on depravity against the will itself. True, that, in this manner, false religion seems often beneficial, for she forces guilt to be demure, and men thus cloaked by her, like mutes at a funeral, give the effect of decorum, and impart seriousness to the minds of others; although they have beneath their own solemn robes the costume of masquerade devils, and merry-andrews. Though drunk with gin, or parched with the desire of the sanded tap-room, they have the power to look sober, and the corners of their mouths impeach the testimony

of their noses. Thus, the solemnity of a burial is preserved, and they that meet them going, uncover their heads and think of dying, until the passing hearse-plumes cease to tremble. This, they say, is better than if the body of a miser were conveyed in triumph to the grave by his heirs; or the corpse of a man, whether that of a sinner or a public benefactor, carted off with scoffing. Above all, they advocate the "respectability" of the thing, and the magnificence of the outlay. Yes, it is true that this hypocrisy may, in an oblique manner, preserve virtue and prevent crime, by causing, for instance, that two persons of an opposite sex shall not come to an understanding with each other, though the act be already committed in their hearts; or, that two murderers in a party of three shall not say to each other,—“Come, let us slay this one”—and so he escapes. It is this which *may* cause the proclamation of a general Fast to make a solemn impression on the superficial mind of one that looks from a high place upon the roofs and slates of the houses, though greater than ordinary gluttony and feasting reign within: each man saying to his soul—“Let others fast, for I have a holiday seldom.” It is this, which makes the Sunday air feel purer amid the ringing of church bells, though it is a day of love-idleness, when seduction, fornication, and drunkenness, are rife in the crowded city and her outlets. But is this the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ? No; nor a religion fit to live, or necessary to the guidance of States, or the well-being of man.

Let us revert, for a brief period, to the subject of Tithes, which we propose gradually to sequester, and inquire into their origin and purpose. We will not

derive them from an "unrecorded revelation made to Adam"; like a learned and ingenious divine some years ago;* but simply refer to the institutions of the Jews, until the destruction of the Temple. The word *tithe*† signifies tenth; therefore, the Clergy ought to form a tenth of the population; but Aaron and his sons formed a tenth of a tenth. Therefore, the rest went for the Levites, the *poor*, the stranger, the widow, the orphan, and the Temple. But we are not aware that Christianity contains any authority for tithes. The first mention made of them, according to Blackstone, is a general moral recommendation, A.D. 786. In the time of Guthrun, this was made binding and afterwards ratified by Athelstan. There is no question, but that at least a fourth part of this was destined for the poor. If the Church be a corporate body, with a right of succession, and have the ownership of this property vested in them, what an arrear is due to the poor upon the original conditions! Why, the accumulation, at a very moderate rate of interest, would be enough to buy up from them all the revenues of the Church, at their own sale price. Blackstone, in alluding to the 15th Richard II., c. 6, says—"alms, for which, among other purposes, the payment of tithes was originally imposed." Certainly, then, if we are to look at the origin of things, the poor rates, at least, should be paid by the tithe. The

* Cove, "Essay on the Revenues of the Church of England."

† The extraordinary Black Book, page 9, enters fully into this subject. The spirit of this rightly-named work is too violent for us; but most of its facts are true and unanswerable. Burton, in speaking of Tithes, says "the rejection of such a provision is certainly no point of Christian doctrine. But this impost (namely of a tenth part) could be reasonable only so far as it was expedient."

revenues of the Church, in the shape of tithe, being a tenth part of the produce intended by God and nature for the present fifteen millions of English, are enormous, and must breed hatred in a suffering people. If the Church will not save herself, let the Government step in and save her from the consequences of this deprecation.

We might continue at great length the subject of cessation of tithes for the maintenance of the Church. We might enter more fully into both the legality and equity of the question. We will content ourselves with a very few more general and particular remarks, both as to Church property and tithes. In the first place, the Church has been called into being in her former, and consequent present shape, as a temporal impersonation of certain spiritual ideas, persuasions, and beliefs, by former legislative bodies of the State. It is an axiom, that what a legislative power has enacted as a law, the same power may annul or alter ; as well as a postulate of that axiom, that what a State has given and ratified, she may, at a future time, recall and abrogate. No law can be imposed, which a sovereign power cannot change, or dispose of. Therefore, without one word as to abuses, or necessity, the judgment of the existing Government, which is supposed to interpret the wishes of the majority of the people, may even do away with the Church altogether. But although the members of the whole Church taken collectively may be considered as a body politic, and are, therefore, subject to the policy of the day for their continuance ; yet we think that equity demands that the individual interests of present incumbents should, in great measure, be protected. Thus, we conceive

that the life-estate, when once vested in a present possessor, ought not, in equity, to be disturbed without due compensation. Nevertheless, in strict law, we conceive, as we have before remarked, that property in the hands of the Church is held only at will. But again, if a misapplication of a thing, granted for certain purposes, is shown, we consider that even equity can afford no relief and that policy and forbearance alone suffer its enjoyment to continue. As to tithes, let us briefly revert to their history.

On the institution of the Church, there were no tithes at all. They were commenced for purposes very different from those to which they are now applied, and were for a long time only gratuitous, being given at discretion of the owner of the land to any religious persons he might choose.* It was only in the time of King John that tithes were in any way legally connected with parishes, or rectories.† But what the law has done the law can undo, and therefore it is evident that a law may be passed re-appropriating Church tithes to any public service. The statute of Henry VIII. gave to the King, for carrying on war with foreign nations, lands and the property of charities which had been endowed for pious purposes by founders, but which, the priests having been expelled, were actually reclaimed in vain by the heirs of the founders.

* This may be ascertained from the following authorities:—2 Inst. 641; Year Books, 7 Edw. 3, 4, 7; 44 Edw. 3, 5, 22; Lib. Ass., 268, pl. 25; Seld. Hist. c. 10, s. 2; &c., &c.

† About the year 1200, by a Decretal Epistle of Pope Innocent III. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the people were directed to pay them entirely to their own parish Churches. This was afterwards adopted into our Law.

For the argument was, that, having once been given for public purposes, viz., the furtherance of religion and charity, they could not revert but to the State, for such use as it should deem proper. In the face of all this, churchmen have, it is true, preached up a divine right to tithes ; but even this is asserted in a most vague manner by all those writers favourable to Church doctrines, who have any legal knowledge of the matter ; for they know that it was impossible for the Church to lay claim to any tenth part, or tithe, which would have been a defined attack upon the property of the public, and they have therefore always called their demand, in the name of Heaven, *quota pars*.* By this *quota pars* can only be understood that, which is enough for the ministers of the Church to live on to to be demanded from householders for their maintenance, which might pass into a definite commutation by the laws of a government in lieu of the *dismes*, or tithes. Many learned authorities might be quoted and many divines from St. Paul to Thomas Aquinas, in support of the fact, that there is no divine right to tithes on the part of the Church ; but that certain payments were granted by law at various times, which have been since utterly perverted and abused, which the law that gave them can recall at will, and make what use of them it pleases.†

* Doct. and Stud. Dial. 2, c. 55.

† As it is certain that all tithes were of Ecclesiastical origin, it may be asked, why, in some instances, they are no longer Church property. Why should individuals appropriate, what the State cannot touch, if, indeed, we are to believe that in this respect the Government is powerless. It was the abuse of Religious or Monastic Corporations in appropriating to themselves the profits of Churches, to which they had the right of Presentation, which gave rise to a Secular person being ordained

A statute was passed with reference to the clergy—21 Henry VIII.—which contains these words,—“For the maintenance of hospitality, the *relief of poor people*, and good opinion of the lay fee toward the spiritual persons.” A comment on this statute by Sir Simon Digge, says,—“I would wish every clergyman to remember that the poor have a share of the tithe with him.” Do they? Have they?

The greatest principle of all upon which to act is this, that certain things were granted by various Acts of Parliament for various purposes, and that these purposes have ceased to be fulfilled. A new Act of Parliament can recall them, and no divine right can be adduced to interfere at the beck of men, who cannot even settle the foundation of their own doctrines, define their own power, or state their own principles: whose facts are bishops, their speciosities acts of grace: whose doubts religion, and their religion a varied right of interpretation of the one divine Book, in which assuredly no authority whatever can be found for the wealth, intolerance, or pride of the Established Church of England. If it was granted by Magna Charta, “that the Church of England shall be free, and shall have all her rights entire and her liberties unhurt,” it is not thereby defined *what* that Church is. Her rights are certainly not those of individuals; but the legally directed claims

as Vicar Perpetual, to inform the people and to keep hospitality there. St. 4, H. 4, c. 12. 1 Black. Comm. 384. Lord Mansfield in speaking of the system of curates said “It would be a strange argument to say, that persons of that description could possibly maintain the hospitality which the statute had in view, and which ought to be kept up.” Surely, if possession is held by service, the non-performance of that service should alone work a forfeiture.

of a spiritual essence. We are inclined to think with St. Paul, that charity should be the greatest essence of all.

We have written at some length on the power of the law over that, which is called Church property, and on the influence of the sovereignty of opinions expressed through the Government as to the existence of a Church ; but let it be remembered that all we ask for is a voluntary sacrifice and a dignified cession.*

One subject still remains. It is the education at present vested in the hands of the clergy, in our universities. To this we most decidedly object, and to support our objections must allude to the grossest misconduct and the worst effects of it.

We have purposely abstained from a general attack in detail upon the corruptions of the Church. We have only hinted, in most general terms, at their enormous wealth, and, in great measure, consequent faults and errors. Let the pages of such a work as the Black Book be dedicated to the damning proofs of these. But, as to the administration of the universities, we cannot forego a word. There, the lawgiver is prepared, by the system of private debt and the utter recklessness in money matters encouraged and connived at, to tamper and sport with the prudence and honesty of a nation. There, insolvency is a jest on the

* The whole of these arguments have been at various times set forth and adduced by various writers, at great length, and with great ability. One of the clearest and most powerful writers on this subject is Mr. William Eagle, in whose works many of our facts on this subject will be found, as well as many others of equal or greater importance ; whilst the whole doctrine of the power of the State to confiscate Church property on behalf of the public is most logically and legally set forth in his writings.

lips; whilst a narrow expediency is taught to cramp the heart and conduct. There, "a want of prudence makes learning ridiculous;" even if one carry away learning. There, faith is taught in words, to be used only for a purpose. There, the dead languages are the ill-taught slovens that keep a back-shop in the Pantheon of fair-proportioned knowledge, and, thence, men issue forth into the world to wrangle over a surplice, or to be fleeced by Israelitish cunning; because they do not know the common rules of life, or how to live.

There, the Jesuit has a nook, and the concealed Romanist a dwelling. There, health is lost, evil habits are acquired never to be cast aside, and cant, conceit, arrogance, and dissipation, nurtured. It is "the march of youth against age, of inexperience against experience, of children against parents, of folly against wisdom, of consumers against producers: it is the advancement of political ignorance and retrogradation of the virtues." Whilst the man that lives to himself there can only acquire the diploma of a book-worm, at the expense of all the useful and moral learning that should deck his youthful path of ambition, domestic worth, or social independence. There, the vices of age are grafted on the recklessness of youth; whilst, to crown the whole, the monster Extravagance, leading Debt and Ruin in her train, joins the Bacchanalian rout of the Passions to surround the bier of Reason, and guide her thoughtless votary astray.

Let us refer, for an exposition of college life, college studies, college habits, and their effects, to a little work published some years since, entitled "*Oxford Unmasked*,"* of the truths contained in which we

* Published by Effingham Wilson, 1842. It went through several

have as yet seen no refutation, and then exclaim, with the motto on its title page,

“ *Hinc* tumidi incedunt, *hinc* publica
præmia poscunt.”
(*Palingen, in Leon.*)

We cannot, in leaving this subject, forbear quoting the closing paragraph from the “boiling lead of this philippic;” whilst we would fain deprecate its severity; if our convictions would allow us. The author concludes by a mock lamentation over the wrath he supposes himself to have drawn down upon his head, by revealing the secrets of the prison-house, and the following is his climax. We, more fortunate, and, we hope, more persuasive, only deal with remonstrance, and address ourselves to the best and not to the worst upholders of the church system. But hear a “Graduate.”

“O, ‘ye Budge Doctors,’ *not* of ‘the Stoic fur,’ but who know so well how to combine the Cynic for others with the Epicurean for yourselves,—ye sacerdotal trainers of youth, ye *mysterious flamens* and *flaminal mysts*, ye Masters of Arts but Art-less Masters, and ye rubicund, portly *recruiting Serjeants* of the Church *militant*,—spare us your just wrath and your holy indignation; since we have thus dared to reveal the *arcana sacra* of your den of imposture, and, in removing the prophet-veil, have discovered the grinning features of *Mokanna*. Spare us your hornet-stings; although we have thus boldly attacked your nest.

editions, we believe. It has a mock dedication to Sir Robert Peel, as the voluntary self-pledged reformer of abuses according to the Tamworth Manifesto.

Alas! already we feel the scorpion-pointed arrows of your wrath.

Ἰὼ μοί μοι, ἔ ἔ
 Οἴστρον δ' ἄρδεις χρεῖ μ' ἄπυρος
 Κραδίᾳ δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτίζει.
 (*Æschyl. Prom. Vinc.*)

Spare us unfortunate, who would wage war, not with yourselves, but with your principles, your craft, your cunning, your intolerance, your hypocrisy, your fawning spirits, your injustice, and your heartlessness; and we promise, if we survive your indignation, in gratitude to omit the last of the thousand and one instances of your baseness, which we have in store."

Surely *all* this is not merited; but if *any* of it be, it is an argument against education being in the hands of churchmen. Let, we say, the Church teach the Church alone, in her new and improved state of existence, and teach her better. Above all, let care be taken to select for their piety and merits those who are to preach, and upon whose example the eyes of millions are to be fixed.*

We have been led to dwell, at much greater length than we intended, on this most important topic, amid our proposed items of *Redemption*. The late misconduct of some of the most prominent members of the Church tends in a high degree to give force at this moment to our appeal to its members on behalf of the nation. Let it not be supposed, that we allude to the frequent reports in the newspapers, as to the

* This is certainly not the case now. Morality forms no necessary ground-work for a clergyman. This, probably, together with the idleness of their lives, accounts for their numerous *escapades* of the clergy, since newspapers report everything, before the public.

immorality of clergymen, although these are startling ; but to what may be called *professional* squabbles in high quarters ; as, for example, the present case of *Gorham v. Exeter et, hinc, Exeter v. Canterbury*, and so on. *Chacun pour soi* is, at least, their war-cry, if not *Dieu pour tous*. When a blind neglect of self-interest proceeds from exalted generosity, or devoted simplicity, it is an edifying spectacle to look on ; but, when bitter animosity destroys the mutual good of two that ought to be one, the picture is indeed painful. The authority, too, of the Government set at nought—a quarrel betwixt Church and State ! The really pious Ministers of our Established Church must stand apart from this in meek disgust and horror, and think, as we do, that, when such things conspire to their ruin, virtue may be better than necessity, even if they could not otherwise *quite* make up their minds to make a noble sacrifice of self, conspicuous, indeed, in the annals of religion. With such a high steam pressure from without, and such a fatal and disgraceful disunion within, they feel they must go. “ Let our deaths become us, at least,” they cry, “ if we have been unholy in our living.” Even the more worthless part, if such exist, will say “ If we have clambered into the fold by insidious means, let us make our exit at the door opened by the hands of a nation, with some appearance of dignity and decorum and carry off what we can, before the dish is knocked from our hands and the scramble becomes universal. What we save we shall secure ; whilst, at any rate, our lives will be safe and our consciences, if we have any, lightened.”

We have now boldly dealt with a subject which the timid and cautious would approach with difficulty, or

rather entirely avoid.* Perhaps predictions of this kind are as dangerous in their enunciation, as is the neglect of them by those for whose benefit they are uttered. We have fearlessly intruded upon holy ground ; but with bare feet and due reverence. If we have said too much in our zeal for that, which we feel to be right, good men will pardon us in their appreciation of our sincerity. For the censure of the blind and selfish, we care nothing. Surely a modified attack, not on true Christianity, but the corruption and perversion of an establishment which claims to represent it, will be pardoned in an age, when a leading review talks seriously of the "dignity of utter unbelief." Must we say, that we should have escaped censure better had we re-edited Paine's works, or professed open infidelity, as our rallying point, against Church tenets, rather than her property? Yet, for this by many we had been more easily forgiven. We have now considered, not the propriety of the destruction of Christianity, or the final destruction of the Established Protestant Anglican Church ; but the necessity of a change—that good, and not evil, may ensue. We have shown that there is one thing needful for her to do, enjoined by charity, piety, and justice, for her own ultimate salvation. We have painted the consequences of not doing it. Let the

* Those who advocate great and sweeping reforms in any abuses are seldom thanked in a present age ; but, like martyrs and heroes, must seek their reward in the future. *Δος συ μοι το τριβανιον.* "Give me that threadbare cloak," says Aristophanes, "that I may clothe this informer." We shall be lucky indeed if we receive a cloak for our sins, even if it be threadbare, at the hands of those whom we offend. But let us add, in the words of the same author, *Ὅντοι χαίρησεν, ὅτι πῃ τῇ θύμῃ ἐνυμνῶντον παλαι.* "For that you have been for long conspiring against the people, you shall not on this account escape with impunity."

clergy be purged of wealth and they will cease to preach their religion only to wrong the name of its divine Founder.

The following reproach uttered by Carlyle will then cease to sting; because the exception he makes will become the rule of well doing. "Why," he says, "is it, that the only unworldliness to be found amongst them is to be found amongst those to whom poverty leaves no alternative?" Yes, it is the distressed and over-worked curates, with a few of the smaller and poorer parsons, who alone redeem the character of the Church. There is no "eye of a needle" sufficiently small to express in a figurative sense the difficulties of a bishop to attain the Kingdom of Heaven!

Even as we write, the "system" draws to an end. The Romanist Bishop, as he counts with satisfaction the number of the "flower of the English clergy" who have lately "gone over to Rome," does not anticipate a general amalgamation under the Papal banners more fervently than we, in more melancholy mood, foresee complete ruin, if our voice be not listened to. The Roman Catholic religion was, at any rate, the general creed of France. Hence its resuscitation after the "age of reason." With us there seems little hope that, should the Established Church die a violent death, she will ever rear her head amidst infidelity and schism again. Let her look to the end.

Παλαίφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος
τέτυκται, μέγαν τελεσθέντα φωτὸς ὄλβον
τεκνοῦσθαι μηδ' ἄπαιδα θνήσκειν,
ἐκ δ' ἀγαθᾶς τύχης γένει
βλαστάνειν ἀκόρεστον οἰζύν.

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φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις μὲν παλαιὰ νεά-
 -ζουσαν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν ὕβριν
 τότ' ἢ τότ', εὐτ' ἂν τὸ κύριον μόλῃ,

*

*

τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

(*Æschyl. Agam.*)

Let us now revert to our other projects, which, when blended in a wise scheme of legislation—together with a prudent and rigid economy pervading the whole machinery of the State, not shown by disbanding our army, and yielding to the dictates of blind sentimentality our supremacy on the seas; but by putting an end to jobbing and those ancient abuses which Time alone has made respectable—will go hand in hand with the development of our grand object in Canada, to make England again free, glorious, and happy: for a country is neither free when she is in debt, nor glorious when she is on the brink of tamely yielding her possessions, nor happy when her people are bowed down by taxes, and suffering from crime, over-population and poverty.*

* We cannot forbear from adding to this chapter the following oft-quoted sentence from the Statute of Articuli Cleri. “Nec debet dici tendere in præjudicium ecclesiasticæ libertatis, quod pro Rege et Republicâ necessarium invenitur.” “Nothing can be stated to tend towards the injury of Ecclesiastical Liberty, which is found to be necessary for (the welfare of) the King and the Republic.” Lord Coke observes of this in 2 Inst. 625, that it is a sentence worthy of being written in characters of gold.

CHAPTER III.

ASSISTANT MEANS AND DEBT.

WE are indebted to a pamphlet, viz., "A Letter to the Manufacturers of Manchester, by a citizen of Edinburgh," entitled "The Curse Removed," for several of the suggestions, which will be briefly offered in this chapter. The above writer also strongly advocates the adoption of the property of the Established Church for national purposes. This idea we have long maintained; but we derive several valuable observations from the rest of his proposals. At any rate, we find in this little work, facts, which, if they had otherwise presented themselves to our minds, are briefly collected and put in order for us. First, the manner of reducing the debt by an equitable arrangement. By an equitable arrangement we mean, that the nation is certainly under no obligation, moral or legal, nor is it expedient, to pay £100 for £60 or £70, the amounts originally borrowed, of which the interest has been regularly paid; although it may choose, for the sake of the present holders, innocent of the deeds of our forefathers, and for its credit's sake, to acknowledge the debt, and to shrink from a total repudiation, which would be fatal and terrible in its consequences; although such a repudiation would be one of strict justice, and based upon the rights of man, as between

generation and generation. For we hold it to be an axiom that no Government can have a right to pawn the future industry of a nation; nor has any the privilege of anticipating the yearly revenue at all; except it be for the purpose of defending the soil from the aggressions of other nations, or for an immediate self-evident benefit, or return; such as a great and important public work, or grand annexation. Therefore, there can be no excuse for any other than a defensive war-tax creating the nucleus of, or increasing, a national debt. However, we have to contend with an evil as we find it, and, if possible, without a violent shock to the community. It is for this reason that we would combine all means in our power to make up the sum without recurring to first principles of justice; and thus, in the first place, we merely propose that a tax should be laid, estimated by the writer we have alluded to at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the capital of the debt calculated with reference to value, according as it is at 3 per cent., $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or 5 per cent. interest, and also with regard to the price actually paid on the creation of the stock. This he states would leave the public debt at about £600,000,000.

Surely this would not create such a shock as Sir Robert Peel's Bill, which lifted the value of the national currency, with one fell swoop of experiment, to hurl thousands into the abyss of ruin. If it be stigmatized by those concerned as a robbery, it is a much less *fatal* robbery than that which despoiled all the poor debtors in England of 50 per cent. by doubling the value of money, without reparation or warning.* But

* We remember to have seen it ably stated by some political writer, in comparing the financial tricks of Pitt and Peel and their

an exception might be made in favour of all very small holders of stock ; since a moral scheme of adjustment may be held proper in a case of which the worst features have been produced by an utter abnegation of both law and equity together. If the national debt has

consequences, "that a robbery of debtors by a sudden alteration in the currency is so much worse than a robbery of creditors, by the far greater amount of misery which it entails." As Pitt made money cheaper, he increased the value of production. He, thereby, although committing an injustice towards creditors, benefitted the country generally. By his establishing country banks, which he did by sending eminent London bankers throughout the country, he circulated capital. Trade, manufactures and agriculture were rapidly improved, land advanced in fee simple value from £10 the acre to £40 and £50, and the only mischief that occurred was that *entailed upon posterity* through the debt. This was the cause of his being called "The Heaven-born Minister." But Peel, by doubling the value of money, which for twenty-two years had been settled, caused a distress and ruin in his own day that no language can describe. The poor and needy in the shape of debtors were ruined, and the national debt increased in value, to the loss of the nation : for the great mass of the public debt was borrowed in money depreciated to the amount of between 25 and 35 per cent. There is this difference between a monetary fraud of this nature practised on debtors or creditors, viz., that a robbery of debtors remains still open, whereas that of creditors is at once settled. In the one case the money is in the debtor's own control, and the Government merely says "pay half." The affair is settled, and things soon find their level. Nay, a national robbery of creditors gives even a fillip to the industry of the indigent, as in Pitt's case. But in a robbery of debtors, by doubling their liabilities, the day of payment is made more and more distant and impossible. The debt always exists, credit is shaken, individuals are ruined, stagnation of commerce, agriculture, and trade must ensue upon the doubtful state of things, and the public debtor is charged with a double encumbrance, though he never received any value for it. And this fatal measure took place when the public creditor should have been met on equal terms, and in defiance of reason, justice, prudence ; nay, "the hand-writing on the wall" had not sufficed to prevent it. Well may our descendants question the motives of these men. But we shall recur to this in our summary of the condition of England.

been produced by a wicked and wanton proceeding, in which no law was observed, surely equity may interpose its relief. For the basis of equity is to do justice in those cases to which no strict written law can apply, and to exercise a species of virtuous casuistry in those extraordinary cases, which the involution of human affairs creates. It is the heart and feeling of legality, whilst law is the head alone. Therefore an adjustment of this kind must be a matter of feeling founded upon right, and yet checking right; for, above all, we hate to think of the destruction of classes. Still classes, which have grown fungus-like upon abuses and follies must be curtailed and cut down for the benefit of others, who would not have suffered but for the political errors which originally gave birth to them. Let it be remembered that the present existing monetary class would leave the agriculturists *nothing*. Let it be remembered that it is a dangerous part of the community, that it is bent on making England a wholly trading community, that a wholly trading community can never be long or finally prosperous, and let us impress upon them the necessity also of giving up a part for the whole.

The next thing which we will take into consideration are the revenues of the "Woods and Forests." Every one must remember the exposure of jobbing details, not long ago, which proved how wretched a use is made of these by the Government. Let, then, this property be sold, and, in the hands of private individuals, it will soon become of real value to the prosperity of the country. If some additional expense should be incurred hereafter in ship-building, in which we hope to see no decrease, for we say ever, be it re-

membered, with the warning shade of Darius in the Greek tragedy,* “Build ships! ships! ships!” this may very easily be saved by a decent economy and some attempt at management in our dock-yards.

The Commissioners of Woods and Forests frequently do not get more than an eighth part of the return which should be made.† For example, let us look only at the management of the New Forest. We do not think it necessary to specify the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall; but we think these might be yielded. A sliding-scale tax on all large properties would realize an enormous sum. Then comes a tax upon railroads. Of this we are not quite certain. However, the object before us is to make an equal pressure throughout the United Kingdom. Is there not wealth in the country? Certainly: it is proverbial still all over the world. Could we pay off this debt? Assuredly: with ease. Private fortunes could do it, whose owners would scarcely be missed in worth, or number. But wise legislation can do it better still, than by any system of plunder and injustice. Must we perish through blind-

* *Æschyl. Persæ.*

† Since writing the above, Lord Duncan, in his speech in the House on the Window-tax (April 9th), made the following observations upon the management of the Woods and Forests:—“When he was told that economy had been carried as far as possible, he recollected that the same thing was said two years ago, when he brought forward this motion. Since that time it had been his good, or bad, fortune, to be chairman of the Committee on the Woods and Forests. It appeared that in that department of the State the practice prevailed of deducting the expenses of the department, and paying the residue only, instead of the gross receipts, into the Exchequer. He stated fearlessly that two years ago, out of an income of £370,000, only £60,000 found its way into the public Exchequer.”

ness, through avarice, through narrow-mindedness, through petty ambition, through ignorance, superficiality, and want of daring? Must injustice bind the land as with a cord, and the groans of the people receive no interpretation from the mouth of Wisdom, till Necessity hurl Folly from the place she has usurped, and the cry of all will be—"It is come! it is come!" Our taxes upon fashion and frivolity should be enormous. The inventions to supply luxury with novelty and excitement are become so numerous, that the absence of a few years induces one to inquire the use of things like a child.

There is scarcely a notion, however fanciful, that is not pandered to by invention. This prodigality of science alone cannot teach us to prolong our own lives; whilst it wonderfully forgets the comforts of those who minister to our necessities. The fine linen and curious hose of the rich are the product of almost skeleton hands. In proportion as the produce of the loom is delicate, the fragile attenuation of the artizan lends horror to the circumstances of its production, did the wearer only reflect upon them. Now and then some popular writer, whose needy circumstances have taught him familiarity with distress, gives a momentary shock to content, and ruffles with daring breath the swansdown of extravagance. But the majority read this as they would a tale of misery translated from the Sanscrit, or Runic tongue. They do not see, hear, or feel it. The history of all the starvation in Ireland, painted graphically in a brilliant leading article of the *Times*, does not affect individuals so much, as the chance sight of one Irish beggar dying on their own doorstep would do. For people do not think of abstract sorrows.

Misery must be rampant and dreaded, to be attended to. It must parade the streets with a loaf transfixed upon a pike-head, and cry "Blood or bread;" before its inward pangs become universally recognised or known. It must be from the trembling of charity that the dew-drops fall. By this, we mean to cast no general reflection upon human nature. That, indeed, were unavailing. We expect neither a moral, nor a physical millenium; but that the world will continue to jog on the same, presenting upon her surface, it is true, many new features, but never changing the in-born attributes of man. Whilst there is nothing new under the sun, in the elements of materialism, there is nothing that is not new in composition and circumstance. So it is with man. For awhile nations deteriorate: the demoralization of a century, or an epoch may occur, as at present it is occurring; but we are no nearer universal philanthropy, or self-government, than we were fifty years before, or after, the flood. Therefore, it is the circumstance of this age which destroys charity. This is done by the universal monied influence, and the struggle for existence which takes place. And here let us remark, that it often is not the fault of the rich and the aristocratical, that they do not relieve want. As we said before, they do not see it: it is their ignorance which refuses. We all remember the story of the Princess Charlotte, who said "Why should folks starve, when there is such good bread and cheese?" We do not believe that the Queen of England is at present much more aware of the state of things in England. Starvation is to her an outward fable. If she knew it, she would set an example of economy and charity, till attention to the

wants of the poor should become a *fashion*. But to feed the idle is to rob the good. It is not by eleemosynary means that the evil must be stopped; but by the application of relief to first and second causes. The first cause is the debt—the second, taxation. The debt is the father of the fatal monied influence: the misery of the people, the daughter of the greedy hag, Taxation. There is money enough in the country: her industry and resources still exist. But her wealth is like a false circulation of blood. Now it rushes to the extremities, as when gold finds its way out of the country. Then it flows violently to the heart, which may be represented by the Bank of England. Amidst all this the people labour, labour, labour. No fluctuation benefits them. The resources of the country diminish slowly before foreign competition, unsaddled by the same cruel restrictions; whilst seeming prosperity has only hitherto drawn out a lingering existence through miracles of invention, industry, and science.

But it is time that all this should have an end; and when it is time, then the time insists. The country is fatigued by the "*sweating system*," by which all her branches of labour are carried on. It is time to consider that fools and knaves shall no longer prostitute the blood and sinews of Englishmen for their own base purposes, which they weave up with the sickening cant of morbid philanthropy only to deceive and plunder their countrymen. Before the cry of *saue qui peut*, there is yet hope to save.* All are not blinded: there are

* We cannot forbear from quoting a line or two from a late ballad in "*Blackwood's Magazine*," which, in a bitter, facetious humour, reveals the folly of our measures and playfully (?) strips corruption of its

some that think it yet worth while to utter a warning voice.

Our attention has been drawn very forcibly to a series of articles in the *Morning Chronicle*, entitled "Letters on Labour and the Poor." We are wrong to assert, that Evil in her struggles to be known is not already partially successful. It is the *general* recognition of the necessity of doing something, which we earnestly and piously advocate. Are we to prevent, or to be cured, and in the cure

veil to the jingling of clever rhymes. It is no subject for jesting; but the deepest lessons may be often thus conveyed, since the heedless read them and reflect, before they have power to forget, whilst they avoid a sermon, or a homily. What terrible revelations have not been made in "Punch"! The labourer, the needlewoman, the skeleton tailors of the Hebrew Jew, remorselessly overlooking them: true type of the capitalist grinding down poverty-stricken Industry. All these points would have escaped popularity, had they been written in solemn volumes, thick as the "Newgate Calendar." The piece is entitled "*Britain's Prosperity*," and is thus headed by a sneer in its misnomer:—

"Wages must tumble, like leaves in a hurricane,
Under this grand competition of work;
Britons shall toil for the Jew and American,
Chinaman, Spaniard, Mulatto, and Turk—
Each village Hannibal,
Fierce as a Cannibal,
Eyeing his neighbour like Bishop or Burke.

* * * *

Banish all notions of British ascendancy,
Let them be wip'd from our memory quite:
Modern views have just an opposite tendency,
As hath been clearly expounded by Bright.
Let us be sensible,
Britain's defensible,
Not by brute force, but by maxims of right."

Blackwood, April, 1850.

run the risk of loss of life or limb? In the last letter up to this date, xxxiv., there is a history given of the state of *lace-making* in the town of Bedford. Let us hear a dirty, ragged being, whom the lady of a Rothschild must still acknowledge to be a woman, and not a piece of hideous machinery working in a foul atmosphere. This *machine*,—no, (thanks, gentle lady,) this *woman*, for it utters articulate sounds of distress, and has children—you may see them there “unwashed,”—speaks as follows :—

“This lace that I’m at work at is lace-edging; it is what is called a ‘French ground,’ and there are three stitches to a pin in it. I gets 2*d.* a-yard for it from the lace-buyers, *and it takes me, if I stick close to it, six hours and a half to make a yard of it, and then I must work as hard as I can to get it done.* My two eldest girls work at it sometimes, but there’s three others that don’t do much. I can’t sit to it all the week round, as I have got other things to attend to. *Years ago we used to get double and treble what we get now for making lace; it has fallen down shockingly. This is the real British lace—pillow lace—all made with the bobbins; there’s not a bit of machinery in the town; no, and I wish there never was none nowhere else—that I do.* Now I can’t make more than six yards in the week, do all I can; and that is a shilling—that’s just what it is. If I can save it till it comes to a dozen yards, I should be able to get 2½*d.* a-yard, that is 2*s.* 3*d.* a dozen. They won’t give us more than 2*d.* a-yard for less than a dozen yards, because they’ve got to pay something to the lace-joiners, who join the pieces when they’re less length than that. The lace is generally bought here at Bedford; but then it’s mostly sent away to London or some other place. When we

take half a dozen yards to the lace-buyers they make you take so much thread out of your money. I should have to take three ha'porth of thread out of every shilling, that's one slip ; and if I was to go to the draper's, or any other shop in the town besides the lace-buyer, I could get eight slips of the very same thread for a penny as he charges me three-ha'pence for one ; so you see he takes a good profit out of the thread, besides what he gets out of the lace. I've got five children."

She has got five children ! The fecundity of poverty is extraordinary,

"As if in Death were propagation too."

Can we not fancy, that the lace issuing from her hands would be "sicklied o'er" with the dingy yellowness of age, before Time had mellowed it to the *recherché* fancy of the curious dowager ? But this is not complaint : this is no drawling song from Manchester of "We've got no work to do," blended in the giant murmur of our great Babylon : it is employment—honest labour ! The woman gets her bread, feeds ; though she does not wash her children. They are not fat, and she has vague notions about machinery, and that it ought to be put on the fire-back. She cannot sift causes, or effects :—what does she know of taxation ? She does not know that she is contending against half Europe, backed by other machinery—against Europe, where living is cheap in comparison to what she can purchase. She does not comprehend that from every stitch she draws is to be deducted a monstrous per centage for the wars of Pitt, the mistakes of Peel, our debt and taxation, and liberality to other nations. She does not imagine that the grateful Greek owes her money, and that she has a hand in a blockade, accursed

of a glorious navy, for the benefit of negroes sold by their own people to other nations.* In fact she is a stranger to the folly, selfishness, and philanthropy, which dry her bones for the benefit of cant, and the glory and comfort of aliens. God help her :—we would not tell her, else she would mournfully bend her head in hopeless apathy, or rush frenzied, like a French amazon, to lead on the terrible mob of Revolution. Two-pence in six hours and a half ! Let her work in silence. Why should she feebly appeal through a printed journal to her rulers ? They are deaf and will not hear. “ Behold,” answers one, “ I have money in the Stocks ;” and a second, “ Regard my cotton mills ;” and a third, “ Do I not preach patience ?” and a fourth, “ My salary is constant ;” and a fifth, “ I have cheapened knowledge, and the people may read for a farthing, if they have light after worktime ;” and a sixth chalks up “ Prosperity ” on the iron shutter of a model prison flanked by gin-palaces, and says in a thousand very eloquent words and diversity of phrases, “ My mission is not to prevent sin, but to punish it, and to send hunger abroad into wildernesses to perish, and to furnish the nation with 8,000,000 green spectacles, that the poor may eat shavings for grass and die contented.” Lo, as he speaks, he smiles ; but, as he smiles, there comes a heavy cloud, and his face darkens, where he stands, till it is seen no longer. Why, then, should she appeal to them ? Let her wait a little longer, and the whole system shall fade away ; but first carry her away with it, like one pale ghost amid many dissolving in the wreck of a nation, and thus shall the poor and the oppressed be avenged, though not righted.

* It cost us £30,000 a-year to *maintain* captured negroes.

Nay! let every voice speak. Let every tongue be heard in unison. We are now the directors of one small part of the chorus, whose burden is "Save England: save the country!" Like the vast tide of workhouse life-in-death depicted by the poet Hood, let the mass stream forth and strike upon the iron gong that hangs by the gate of "Despair," and the rulers must answer.

Listen to another woman speaking faintly through the *Chronicle*.

Mark, if the poor girls, in addition to their ten hours a-day, cannot get "something from the parish to keep them from starving, they're not virtuous and goes in the streets." "Oh! the merry maids of England," whose chastity is registered at the workhouse at the weekly price of a shilling or eighteen pence, paid by the strained fibres of the industry of the nation! O, little children, with dirty faces, whom Christ would have suffered to come unto him, behold his representatives sit in purple, and fine linen, in the land, where ye perish! Listen to the *Chronicle*. "I often look at the poor little children, and see how they makes 'em sit shut up in their room for eight or ten hours a-day for their penny or two pence—for they can't arne more. I thinks often what a cruel thing it is for the poor little children. But then what are you to do with 'em? I argues—why, nothing. Where there's a parcel of girls, and no boys' money to help the poor people, they must be badly off; how can they help it? Some of 'em only arne 8s. a-week on the farms, some only 7s. My husband is a horse-keeper, and he has to go at four o'clock in the morning, and doesn't come home till seven at night, and he gets 9s. 6d. a-week. Then he has to go to the horses on Sundays, and he gets

the extra 6*d.* for that ; the 9*s.* is for the other six days—that's 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day, and we pay 2*s.* a week for rent ; so how could we do with three girls at home, unless they earned a trifle, if it's ever so small ? There isn't nobody that works at the lace as hasn't got a husband to bring 'em home something as they can live upon what they earns. The girls as isn't married, and works at the lace, *are obliged all of 'em to have something from the parish to keep 'em from starving—or else they're not virtuous, and goes in the streets.* It is now, you see, Sir, that lace has been so bad, is because a great many of the people are so low, that they are obliged to make this lace to get a little bit of money quick, like—that's where it is."

Yes, that is where it is—one stitch between the people and starvation, their energies and industry driven at full speed to the utmost, what remains beyond ? The people of Ireland were fed on potatoes. There was nothing beyond. Potatoes failed. Then Death reaped his crop, the people. There is nothing beyond the poor of England. All is stretched to the uttermost. Work can do no more.

Shall we illustrate, once again, at a venture, our observations on the luxurious article of lace ? Let not prosperous ladies suppose that they do harm by wearing lace. Quite the contrary. They alone stand immediately between these wretches and utter starvation, by using the article. They are, perhaps, bound not to encourage French manufacture ; but they have nothing to do with the condition of England in any one of its phases. The causes are far removed beyond them. They may, however, assist in the removal of causes ; and even patching is not to be despised, when charity furnishes the material.

Hear another lace-maker. This woman begins by telling, that there is a kind of truck-system, which destroys in great measure even her poor gains. For example: she sells lace to a grocer, who forces her to take it out in goods. Then she continues: "When I was a little girl, about ten years old, I used to get my mother ten shillings a-week—now I don't get ten pence. My little girl arnes sixpence a week at the lace-school, and I pay twopence-ha'penny a-week for her lace-schooling. She don't lerne nothing else there but to make lace. The girls as is about nine years old go there at daylight in the morning and come home about dark; and they arnes sixpence a-week, but you pays twopence-ha'penny to the missus for larning of 'em. My eldest girl has larnt her thread, and she's a regular lace-maker now, and goes to it regular, but she only arnes sixpence, sometimes ninepence, a-week. There's generally more girls in the school in summer than there is in the winter. The girls as is over nine go to the school in the winter at daylight; they work till nine or ten at night, and then comes home; them girls is about twelve or fourteen year old. In the summer they stops about as long; there's none of them arnes more than a shilling or eighteenpence a-week; but they must work very hard, though, to arne eighteenpence. The missus of the school sets the little ones so many score pins to be done in the hour, and then when they're done she gives 'em some more. A very good hand can make, at the edging I have been at work at, half a yard in a day; not more than that, I'm sure they can't; I know I can't, and I reckon I'm a pretty good hand, for I've been at it all my life—that's more than forty year now come March. A few years ago they might have sold this sort of lace for eighteenpence or

two shillings a-yard ; now you can't get more than sixpence. I have often only got fivepence. When my first child was born I could do a *fut* (foot) a day—that was six in a week, and six *fut* is two yards ; and I used to arne three or four shillings at it, although I had my child to attend to. Now you can't arne as much as that in a month, without a child at all. I've got three children as works at the lace, and when all my three lace-makers and myself are at work at it, we can't get so much as I could make by myself when my first child was born, and I had to attend to it." Can any thing show the abject poverty of these poor dealers, far removed, however, in the social scale above the "machine-woman," more than this exposition of a petty truck-system ? We must apologize for dwelling so long upon lace. In a work of this nature, where such facts multiply, indignation often leads an unhackneyed writer astray.

We are about to close this chapter, in which we have endeavoured, by these illustrations of a single article of luxury, which apply with equal, if not greater force, to all, to show the necessity of shifting not something, but everything, from producers to consumers. The three sickly "women," whose artless narratives we have adopted, can bear no more. They have no more blood or marrow in them. They have not time to wash their children's faces : they exist by an exercise of labour unparalleled in the records of the world, by the permission of mere accident. A week's illness ! Then comes death, or the workhouse. The former a relief to themselves and the country, in whose hard bosom they are born, but a reproach to her Government, which God cannot pass over. The latter an additional tax upon all poor creatures, like herself, left

behind on the lowest step of the swarming stair of the Bridge of Life in wealthy prosperous England.

This, we repeat, is *Labour*—in comparison with the rest, fortunate labour. We have not taken our readers into Lancashire during a season of dearth. We have only strayed a moment in the happy counties of Herts, Beds, Hants, and Cambridge. We have not quoted the annals of the "SOUTHAMPTON UNION." We have not crossed the Irish Channel, to gaze upon the famine-horrors of the siege of Jerusalem, in an island meant to be happy, studding the ocean with beauty, under the dominion of Great Britain *at a time of peace*. We have taken an average in favour of the prosperity of England. Thence we turn to our palace-consumers to ask for a portion of their superfluity, to a profuse Government to ask for strict economy in its conduct at home and in its foreign relations, and we appeal to the sense that is left amid us to make these things straight. We ask of Ministers not to palter and to insult us with legerdemain when we want measures. We beg of them to discontinue shuffling the cards without dealing, and saying to us, when we demand that a tax should be lightened, "It is not in this hand ; it is in the other." We insist that our privileges shall not be liberally showered on foreigners, and our birthright sold for a pretence. We are working harder than any other nation for a less reward. We are slaving, not for ourselves, but others. We ask, Why is it? We say to the Governments, "You grind the English nation with your taxes : but you strip it of protection. You add insult to injury, and heap misery on disgrace. You left us a short while ago with but ONE harvest between us and starvation, and now you would rob us even

of the chance of that harvest, and leave us beggars to the good-will of Europe for bread. We have fought and bled and paid for colonies, and you are about to give them up, now that they might serve us grandly and well. We are patient, very patient ; for we have the lesson of France before our eyes, and are a good and sound people ; but, soon, we shall not lose by any change, and revenge will be one sweet drop in the bitter cup you have made us mingle. This is our complaint : our endurance has still an inch to travel. But come, quick, give us some amends ! let us see Hope approaching us with your permission, marshalled by a great, a very great, ECONOMY, and a little, a very little, WISDOM ! ”

With reference to lace-manufacturing and the scanty details we have given, we think it necessary again to state that this is a most favourable picture of working “prosperity.” Perhaps, therefore, we should leave a wrong impression upon the minds of many of our readers, did we not glance for a moment at the fearful revelations of “Satan’s Kingdom,” the factory district, whence daily arises the hot steam of death and pollution from the small bodies of aged children, and elfish age, to hang in heavy reek between “Britain’s Prosperity” and the sun. Let us glance at the pages of the “Church of England Quarterly Review.” Alas ! they reprehend these things, but what will they do to prevent them ? They deprecate these horrors ; they say “Shall these things be ?” but they forget the necessity which goads the nation now, where avarice only formerly exercised her unbounded brutality. In what has consisted the real amendment of the Factory system, as far as it has been amended ? In the fact that nature interposed at length with “factory-rot ;” that disease and death cried out “thus far shall ye

go and no further." "The first efforts of millowners date from this epoch."*

Let us now commemorate, in the hope that our work may endure and so embalm them for a space in the sweets of "Gehenna," the names of John Leech, a manufacturer of Stalybridge, and Mr. Buckley, the Mayor of Ashton.† These men, in the month of January, 1849, were the first opponents of the working of the Ten Hours' Bill, by introducing the "shift or relay" system. Imagine the crowds of bony little orphans' sprites around the death-bed of the cotton lord, waiting to marshal the soul exuded from the magisterial clay to a twenty-four hour cotton-mill elsewhere. For, if we can at all picture to ourselves the vulgar horrors of corporeal punishment in a future state of awful retribution, it is in a case like this that we are tempted to do so.

But these are individuals. Let us conceive the whole corporate body of millowners and masters as one entity, and we say that, to a great extent, necessity as well as individual avarice goad them on. To tamper with the clock, to *speed* the machinery, by which ten hours' labour exhausts doubly, to divide the men from the women, that they at any rate might not reap the benefit of the law, to discharge starving wretches with "black tickets" to wander about on the highways, barred even from these hells of labour, by which they alone could exist, and lastly to adopt the cruel "relay" system—these are all devilish expedients of particular master-sinners. But, in the grand opposition to improvement, in the legalized

* Viz., the epoch of the "factory-rot," which became contagious, and actually *threatened* THE RICH in the year 1815.

† *Vide* "Church of England Review," April—"The Cotton Factories and Ten Hours' Bill."

setting aside of the Ten Hours' Bill for an informality, we read a different story. A quarter of an hour more or less is a great per centage on a "factory" fortune. The "Church Quarterly Review" imagines that the question is one between "Mammon and Mercy," and entirely at the discretion of the millowners. Such are the advantages of England, it says, over other lands, that foreign competition cannot injure them, though it may, through them, the operatives. We say that the advantages of England are more than nullified by our legislation, and that we are 'dying' now in the struggle to keep pace with the comparatively happy and comfortable operatives of France and America. We may drive the Lyonnese to work a little harder, and now and then to 'strike;' but who that has been at Lyons, as we have, would venture to draw any parallel between our misery and theirs? It is a Paradise to Manchester. Look at the features of the men and the forms of the women. Go out on a holiday at Lyons. Visit their factories, and then compare them with ours. It is the difference in the price of living which sustains them. Foreign competition and the home struggle for profit arising from the social rottenness of our 'prosperity' impel the masters and owners as a body.* There are, of course, exceptions in point of

* This evasion of the Ten Hours' Bill is a tolerable sneer at the boasted efficacy of free trade. Give us only this latter, said the British slave-owners, and we will emancipate *our* negroes. How they would be rejoiced to lay on the lash, during the false momentary impulse given to trade by the introduction of foreign produce! They would lower wages—since food, at the expense of the agriculturist, is cheaper—keep their human cattle on the stretch, and double their fortunes in a year. But benefit the mechanic? No, not by a *florin*, if they can help it. O people of England, how easily are you gulled by the mere impudence of a shuffle, or a lie!

stronger atrocity. We read of "three promising females" murdered by excessive labour and hardships in John Cheetham's weaving-shed. It is mentioned just before that two women of the name of Hobson (Marianne Hobson was particularly strong) fell victims to over-toil. This year, in the month of January, Mr. Cheetham directed that his new mill at Stalybridge should run twelve hours—"Church Review," April). Shall we oppress our readers with an account of horrors so infernal, as scarcely to be believed? Shall we state that a creature exists in thousands in the manufacturing districts, that can only work, sleep, drink, blaspheme, and (precociously) fornicate? That it is ill-fed, beaten, unwashed (save when plunged into cold water, 'by command,' to restore its energies), its hair torn out by handfuls, with the scalp; that it is emaciated, wan, round-shouldered, and crook-kneed, that its shape resembles the letter S, and that it crawls sometimes on all fours from house to house for aid, when kicked out with oaths for weakness; that it has been furnished 'young' from London work-houses to country manufacturers by the score, with the agreement that one idiot shall be taken in with the twenty;* that its intellect is debased as its body is weakened; that it works, nay, feeds sometimes in sleep induced by fatigue; that it is swathed and bandaged forth to daily torture; that it has died of 'rot,' and been buried at midnight; that it is tortured, murdered, and unavenged—*then* prate of negro philanthropy and the pride of British birthright? What have been the cruelties of negro slavery to these fiendish atrocities? These are the blessings of England—results of Peel and Cobden—

* Read the speeches of Richard Oastler, Esq.

which free trade is in no hurry to mitigate. This is the philosophy of manufacture, whose workings might be painted by a Dante, an Eugène Sue, and a beastly-publication-monger in extravagant combination. The First to lend a lurid hue of grandeur to the ghastly combination of the whole. Upon the shadowy entrance to this land of guilty horrors he might renew his famous inscription on the gates of hell—

“Voi che entrate lasciate ogni speranza.”

The Second should draw, with disgusting fidelity, each foul detail and harrowing circumstance; and the Third unweave from the dull murmur of articulate sound, heard around those evil dwellings, its threads of blasphemy and obscenity, to out-herod invention, and leave all works of imaginary depravation behind.

No country has equalled this. The Spaniards, in America, did not practise this on themselves, and call it the triumph of popular rights. The excesses of the French nobility, before the first revolution, were playful eccentricities in the sight of heaven to this. The serfdom of Russia * is in comparison an iron-bound happiness, that

* The impudence of the selfish, cunning, insulting cant, which agitated against a loan to Russia, and paraded its nauseous sentimentality in favour of the serf and the Moujik, whilst such slavery exists here, is only to be equalled by the conduct of some late Irish agitators, or the letter of a religious money-lender, who wants to take in a poor country parson, or village dissenter, and writes to him that he lends for Christ's sake, or because he is of his persuasion. What! refuse a business negotiation with the Czar, because there is oppression in Russia? Why, at this rate, the King of Dahomey should refuse to buy helmets for his corps of Amazons from England! What! not lend money to Nicholas, when thou thyself, O greedy Quackery, art “mowing the lean grass of a Golgotha,” at home—

“Sitting like grinning death to clutch the toll

looks erect to heaven, and may hug its shackles with resignation, or indifference. All other cruelties and severities have been accidents of revenge, war, acknowledged despotism, penury, intolerance—but this business-like use of human flesh, this traffic in blood, bone, sinew, and the tenant soul, these slow-torturing shambles, in the centre of glittering magnificence, are new upon earth, and known only in England. Each of these beings, labouring for others at home and abroad, whose every drop of hard-wrung sweat falls into the crucible of the Rothschild, the Goldsmidt, the Cobden, and the Baring, or furnishes with golden remuneration and easy clothing the lazier foreigner, in return for the spontaneous growth and production of his clime,—each of these, man, woman, and child, has inherited the glories of Alfred, Elizabeth, and Cromwell, pawned by his more immediate ancestry, for base or blind purposes, in one downward, increasing course to final ruin. Whilst every present successive law and measure tends not to redeem the pledge, but to lose it—nay, O force of familiar illustration ! to sell the ticket to Jew, Gentile, or foreigner, *in order to make the rich,*

Tortur'd from Poverty, Disease, and Crime ;
 And this with liberty upon thy lips,
 Bland words and specious vulgar eloquence,
 And large oaths with the tongue thrust in the cheek,
 And promises as if thou wert a God
 And no God held the forked bolt above—
 To glut thyself with hard-wrung copper coins
 Verjuic'd with hot tears, thin and watery blood”—

Why what epigram of Martial could enclose this man in four lines ? ay, or forty ? or sufficiently embalm his soul in the essence of keen words to transmit it like a swathed mummy of falsehood, in its brazen sarcophagus, under the Great Pyramid of Contempt, to the wonder of distant ages ?

richer, and the poor, poorer : to drag the ploughman to damnation after the mechanic : to sell : to raise money : to depreciate : to strip bed and blanket from the poor—and all for self, narrow-minded, blind, despotic self. A Californian race ! a fight for specie in a scuttled ship ! To personify a class in a single type, we exclaim—*Quousque tandem abutere Catilina patientiâ nostra ? This, this, indeed, is your divine mission of plenty and peace !*

Is a single point really remedied, a single economy really practised ? We ask, for example, for a reduction of unnecessary navy expenses, not of the marine. In the last, it would be easier far, on the part of such rulers, to oblige us. We are answered by an attack on the cocked hats of midshipmen, * a remnant forsooth of Nelsonian (?) barbarism. A repeal on brick duty and on stamps, the latter highly suggestive of small landowners selling their *neat homes* or *ancestral glebes*, is all we get as it were privately, whilst our public interests are parted with wildly to foreigners.†

* Vide *Times*, April 9th.

“THE NAVAL UNIFORM.—We hear from good authority, that it is the intention of the Admiralty to revise the present regulations for the uniform of the Royal Navy, with the view of reducing the costly expenditure of the junior officers. It is said that epaulettes are to be altogether abolished, and it is a question whether the antiquated cocked-hat will be retained for use on board ship.”—*United Service Gazette*. At the same time, Colonel Sibthorp fails in reducing the valuable number of the “Lords of the Admiralty,” and fining down the salaries by some £7,500 a-year. The said Lords defend themselves, and say, “We are wanted by the nation, and our salaries are wanted by us. We are not worse than useless: our salaries are not too much: only believe us.” And they are believed.

† We cannot but lament the fact, that the Great Protectionist Meetings of England’s yeomen and rural aristocracy have produced, instead of much serious consideration, a great deal of mis-placed fun on the part of free-trade journals. We do not like to see flippancy,

Two classes of men are, in the midst of all this, devoted. If they stir, remonstrate, or struggle, they are knocked on the head, as if by a remorseless street Punch, executing paternal sway over his own offspring. They are jumped upon, sat on, belaboured and kicked for falling. These two classes of men are represented by the British merchant-seaman and the British farmer. Yes, these are the last two subjects that folly, avarice, and selfishness have marked for ruin.*

vulgarity, or buffoonery, supplying the place of argument, or disguising the first outward symptoms of uncomfortable conviction. In a short time, the nation will not exactly be in a state to appreciate this fun. Let us see the end of our external and internal measures. We fear that the farce, in this case, precedes the tragedy.

* We must be pardoned, throughout this chapter, for not having pointed out, in what items the economy we recommend to the nation should exist. Were we to enter into detail upon this subject, it would be a book within a book, and we already feel that we have been sufficiently discursive. Our object is to point out, in general terms, the neglected advantages of Great Britain, to show the fearful state in which she is at present, and the splendid condition she might arrive at by anything like judicious, prudent, and honest conduct.

However, we will state briefly, that we consider that an enormous reduction, say, of several millions, might annually be made out of the revenues of the nation. Those revenues amount to £53,000,000 : all of which is used, except the paltry saving which a complacent minister endeavours to announce on the opening of the budget, for the payment of taxation, and the expenses of the nation. Only imagine if but £5,000,000 of this might annually be saved ! How soon would England, provided she escaped war, or that war, if it should ensue, were saddled on the rich, arrive at prosperity ! Add then our Canadian scheme, and what limits can be assigned to the probable splendour of England !

We have just been glancing over a plan of reform in expenditure, by one Mr. Joseph Samuda. This gentleman, with a foreign name and feelings, who, we presume, may be a Portuguese capitalist, a stock-broker, or Lisbon merchant, recommends, very properly, a stringent economy. But he would reduce army and navy to mere shadows, and says, " for half the money spent on the national defences since the peace, he would have

burnt Woolwich and Sheerness, nay, given up London itself to pillage" (to whom? Senor Don Joseph Samuda!). He quotes a *bon mot* of the Dey of Algiers to found this upon! He says that money is all that is wanted for strength, and urges that safety lies in the purse without the blunderbuss. He would get rid of India, Ireland (!), and the colonies, and thinks that the Brook-green volunteers might repulse French, or Russian bayonets. However, allowing that Mr. Samuda is, in heart, though not in name, English, and that he is but a mistaken disciple of Cobden and universal peace, and thus leaving what is bad in him to come to what is good, there is a great deal in much of his proposed economy. Under the several heads of "Miscellaneous Services," "Salaries and Expenses of Public Departments," including the various commissioners, boards, diplomatic and legal salaries, consular establishments, colonial expenditure, state buildings, the slave trade, the expenses of the Crown, sinecures, or good imitations of them, supernumeraries, &c., &c., &c., what might not be effected? Mr. Samuda, in his work, which is entitled "The Budget as it is and as it might be," ventures to hint at the abuses of church property; but very shyly. Perhaps he is of the Jewish persuasion, and abstains from delicacy. He also touches upon prisons and convicts. He speaks, with much sense, on the subject of *employing* the latter. He suggests, for example, a Breakwater. If, he says, the gross cost of such a work is £150,000, it should be set down in the estimates at £50,000; because convicts should be employed. He says, also, that the most hardened might be sent to the West Indian Islands to re-place slavery. We agree in all this, and cannot conceive what has led to the support of convicts, in many instances, without deriving any benefit from their labour. But the plan we have recommended at once supplies the general *panacea*, the want of which Mr. Samuda deplores, and would repay the Government two-fold.

The expenses of convicts were, it appears, in 1847, £403,129. In 1848, £464,224, and in 1849, £514,405. 7s. 6d. Our plan goes even beyond convicts. It disposes of paupers. Were *all* these things brought to bear, England, within the next ten years, would be a Colossus striding over either hemisphere, whose stomach would be industry, and whose head, intelligence—whilst, if they should not be, she will become, as we before deplored, "a weak giant" to be trampled on by the insolence of the world.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL PROSPECTS OF ENGLAND.

IF we could bring ourselves thoroughly to believe in the truth of the oft-quoted translation of a fragment of Euripides, "*Quos deus vult perdere prius dementat*," we should think it peculiarly applicable to the present and past circumstances of this nation. For surely she has trifled with her advantages in a manner that no spend-thrift heir of a large fortune, surrounded by gamblers, prostitutes, bullies and led friends, ever surpassed in his rapid career of profligacy. The same virtues run to seed, amid vices that seem but full-blown virtues, have been discernible in her—profusion, generosity, a bold exterior and careless deportment, swaggering, braggadocio and sentiment. To recur to a comparison in our Introduction—as the stern Commissioner of the Insolvent Court is accustomed to call things by their real names, and hold the shivering needy gentleman up in the sunlight to scorn and contempt, stripped of the romance of wealth, to learn at once his own insignificance and folly, and to feel the cold iron grasp of necessity doubled in behind his ear—so we are disposed to strip the covering from the extravagance and reckless absurdity of past legislation, and let the nation see its own position, its lost opportunities, its near approach to the fatal wind-up, its still golden opportunities and future balance-sheet

under prudent guidance. In our simile there is this imperfection. The individual is one, and therefore solely culpable. He has not been betrayed by guardians; but seduced by companions. The nation is many, and has been plunged into difficulties by its rulers. However, the stern lesson of inquiry is the same to both. There is the same monstrous load of DEBT staring both in the face, wrongfully incurred. It is a question with both of liabilities and assets, creditors and bailiffs, foreclosure, equity of redemption, and promised amendment. The same schedule is required, and each must look his position steadily in the face. We must regard past follies, not as tomb-stones, but milestones on the Road to Ruin, by which we may retrace and amend our steps. We must look at the causes of things, the grand causes, which, in contra-distinction to the trifling features of the day, absorbing all their attention next to their own prospects, legislators never seem inclined at all to consider.

These are subjects, upon which neither the creatures, nor the lords of expediency love to dwell, or touch: for, they shrink from inquiring into the results of their own blind policy, whilst, at the same time, they find it necessary to hoodwink the eyes of their victims, the many. The national debt, the currency, or appreciation of the standard of value, are subjects by almost universal consent, or rather desire, banished from the consideration of the legislature, or the public; that is, in their general bearings. Doubtless they are unpleasant topics. What spendthrift was ever pleased to dwell upon the schedule of his debts and the balance-sheet of his own insolvency? What victim to his own imprudence, or crime, ever loved to make calculations in black and white to illustrate his

fearful position?—to make his past extravagance and his future suffering the subject of conversation to his family and domestic circle, to the wider sphere of the society in which he moves; or, lastly, to become his own accuser to the public at large? Nay, he would conceal it even from his own conscience, and with the recklessness of a gambler, or a drunkard, escape by fresh indiscretion that commune with his own soul, which must lead to a self-condemnation too terrible to face. No: it is the delight of an honest and successful man to count over again and again his gains, to put down “I am worth so much,” to realize in figures his solvency and prosperity, to say “this I have gained, these are my prospects.” Looking at the above two pictures, it is easily to understand why the questions of the currency and the debt appal and disgust. Even ridicule has supplied the place of reason, and the slang word “bore” is indiscriminately applied to all those men who have sufficient sense to see the folly that has been committed, and sufficient honesty and patriotism to raise their voices against the mighty imposthume of knavery and roguery, by which successive Governments have betrayed the greatest trust ever placed in the hands of men, since history has had a name. But we shrink not from our task. We care not if we but echo in the gross the words of wiser men who have gone before. We shall not, it is true, enter into all the superficial quackery of reports and tables, of exports and imports, of bullion and tallows, of drains of gold, raw material, Bank restrictions and panics. These are but the indices of mismanagement, and the fluctuations of industry grappling with accident, mingled with the bewildering small-talk of political economists. These are the pressing exigencies and throes of a bad system;

together with a series of blunders and uproars consequent upon circumstances of novel nature, and hourly contingencies. They frequently show that the chariot-wheels have often shaved the brink of the gravel-pit so near, as to send the stones rattling to the bottom, or illustrate the memorable words of Lord Chancellor Oxenstiern, "*Nescis mi fili, quam parvū cum sapientiā regitur mundus.*" Would that our ministers for the last sixty years had more frequently exhibited the modesty of the son of Count Oxenstiern, who trembled at the liabilities of ignorance in office; when the game played is for the rival existence of nations, and the stake that is ventured the happiness and prosperity of a people!

The first thing we are desirous of inquiring into is "What is that, and how was it incurred, which preys on the vitals of British industry?" For what, do the needle-woman and the lace-maker, the labourer, the mechanic, the weaver—all those, who sweat and toil with surpassing industry equalled by no nation in the world—pay directly and indirectly in every article they purchase, with the miserable pittance they earn; whilst the people of other countries work less and earn more, and buy the necessaries of life cheaper? Why have the former few and dismal holidays? Why is the country like an alternate vast mill of labour, or palace of idleness; whilst thousands die without knowing the meaning of content, or comfort, and hundreds live without comprehending the duties or necessities of existence, by which it is prescribed that every man shall be, or do, something? Why is the land to be an alternate Golgotha and bed of roses? Why are we not so well off as the idlest and flightiest of our neighbours? The *Times*, in one of its late brilliant essays upon our social state, gives the following picture

of the features of a national holiday. But we are far from drawing the same moral conclusion as the *Times*. We do not know why the brand of care-worn industry and over-driven poverty should be visibly impressed upon the features of Englishmen. We cannot see, why squalor and wretchedness, why "pallor and wrinkles and depression," which are *not* seen, for we can testify it, at Moscow, or Rome, or Palermo, or Paris, should be the sad characteristics of the people here.

The description in the *Times* applies to the Easter Monday Fair, as seen at Greenwich :—

"It must, indeed, be confessed, as all Englishmen are in the habit of confessing, there was nothing very bright or very gay in the festivity. On the river, or on the railway—in Greenwich Park, in the numerous exhibitions that compete for the admiration and the shillings of the public—everywhere one might detect the sombre hues of a working-man's holyday. It was done in a business-like manner. Then, nowhere, it must be said, *is the primæval curse more deeply imprinted on the human countenance than in this metropolis*. In old and young, male and female, are the almost invariable pallor, and wrinkles, and depression, that arise from close habitations and vitiated atmosphere, sedentary employment, broken rest, noise and dust, want of sunshine and air. Among those who are born and bred under these unfavourable conditions there are but few smiling faces, and still fewer that possess any pretensions to beauty. As for other points to catch the eye, the want of either a national costume, or a national taste for dress, deprives an English crowd of all pretensions to the picturesque. On the whole, then, even in our festivities, *we are care-worn, thoughtful, and triste*. A mixture of the aristo-

cratical element might, indeed, relieve this rather dull monotony; but the British aristocracy in general has little to do anywhere with the holidays of the people, less than anywhere in the metropolis, and least of all at Easter."

Do the people of England admit that the *Times* is correct in drawing a cheerful conclusion from what it saw? "The eye of faith," it continues, "has many a sore trial before it can strip the moral essence of its loathsome disguises, before it can recognize an angel in a pauper, or the dawn of eternal glory in squalor and disease." The article finishes with a semi-congratulation upon what it saw regarding the moral essence of the mob, rather than its squalor, disease, or misery. "Happy is it for them, *and happy for us all*, that they are content with so moderate a share in the public stock of enjoyment." Ay, it is well that they are content; *if they are*. Now let us fly to a great continental city. The sun shines, perhaps, not more brightly than here, on *Easter Monday*; but the whole mob smiles, and the reflected ray warms and brightens the heart. Do they deserve this as we do? Have they our patience—do they labour one fourth as much as we do? We, that minister to the wants of 600,000,000 of people, and cannot maintain 30,000,000! We, that work incessantly; but cannot enjoy one gaunt holiday, save in drunkenness, sin, and ribaldry! The article in the *Times* is exquisite in its writing: amiable in its feeling. We believe the author may be a good, a reflective, and a conscientious man; but we look on his picture with a different eye. On the Tuesday of Easter week, after reading the article from which we have quoted, we went also to see a national holiday. It is seven years since we did the like. But we trace a perceptible difference wrought by those seven years, and we read a stern lesson. A na-

tional holiday is a thing on which one may read the soul of the people. There were still some momentarily happy forgetful creatures ; but beggars were thickly mingled with them : not sturdy, professional, fair-going beggars ; but attenuated wanderers and lean artizans out of employ. There were some well-fed soldiers ; but the vendors of trifles had but little demand for their gim-cracks, and the whole business was stale, flat, and unprofitable. We could not help thinking of many needlewomen and poor creatures of that class, whose yearly recreation this may have been ; since expatriated in "floating brothels" to the antipodes of Greenwich : of the convicts and the paupers, that had been drained from that crowd since we were there before : of the trials and miseries of that vast mass of human suffering vainly struggling into a day's joyance, from the depression of misery and want. We saw nothing for self-congratulation : much for painful reflection. But, above all, we saw a great sign hanging in the heavy air above those care-worn faces—a sign visible and invisible, that a great change is at hand, for good, or for evil, in the destinies of the nation. We are wrong to name the alternative of evil. A worse destiny cannot occur, than that the greater part of a nation should be miserable. A sixth-rate nation, nay, a nation of the smallest rate, may be happier—maintaining her little political existence on money she does not mean to repay to some foolish big ally, in saucy ingratitude, and depending for support on the balance of power in Europe and the jealousy of greater rival nations. An emancipated colony in the remotest part of the world, the majority of whose inhabitants derive their origin from an ancestry that has passed under the shadow of the gallows, may far exceed in social blessings the comforts of England. Nay, then,

a change with them would scarcely be for the worse. Still, an alteration for the great, as well as the good, is what we have a right to expect, and it is to that we would devote our most earnest energies. For the other, alas! can consummate itself.

We fear, however, that no minister will rise in his place, and say, "I will be just and great. This nation, from one end to the other, wants reformation. Her resources have been squandered, and her interests trifled with. Labour bears all the burden: it shall do so no longer. I will not for a pretence lop, or bend, little twigs any longer on the tree of Evil that overshadows the land. I will cut with an axe at the roots; let, who will, fall from me." Is it within the bounds of hope and possibility that such language may yet interpret the conduct it describes? Or does it not rather seem impossible to one who is not a blind supporter of the structure of all-powerful speciosity and pretence, that such a thing should not speedily occur? Does it not seem miraculous that men in power should be content with the awful responsibility which daily brands, not crowns them? The British character is said to be opposed to the state of things expressed by the word "*kumbug*." Yet where does the demon, who personifies that term, reign more grandly and universally than here? How easily we take things! How few questions we ask! How contented we are with the explanations afforded! How superficially we regard everything, as long as men talk! It is an age of mock reason—a saturnalia of absurdity! Posterity will be the audience of this age, and will regard with contempt the miserable paste-board contrivances and paltry machinery, which impose upon the nation the unparalleled insolence of these actors on a political stage; without

novelty, without sense, without reason, without eloquence : striving, by volubility and tricks scarcely capable of imposing upon the intellect of children, to deceive misery and to amuse starvation ! “ Here we are ! You cannot do without us ! Give us your money without complaint ! Are you not content ? Then we will inquire into each other’s conduct, and exonerate ourselves. What ! admit you fools behind the scenes ? No, no ! ” This is the language ; and yet the gaping crowds still enter, and each, whilst he suffers, thinks that it is all right, and that *it is the condition of Englishmen to starve in order to maintain a Farce.*

Surely, there is a moral darkness over the land ; like that which is said physically to have overspread Egypt. “ And behold the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he would not let the people go.” Even thus the hearts of governments are hardened, and they will not let us go. Honest and rational, ay, and even necessary plans are as difficult for blind selfishness to adopt, as were the propositions of Moses on behalf of the children of Israel offensive to the hardened avarice and pride of the Egyptian monarch. But the day of Exodus came, and he and his captains perished in the Red Sea. There are other *Red* seas, whose waves may await the tyrant host, that will not hear the entreaties of the people here. Cheap food is admitted. The brick duty is taken off. But, as you cannot make bricks without straw, so you cannot purchase even a cheaper loaf ; unless money is properly circulated. These are among the blind pretences of those who assert themselves to be the champions of the people : the philanthropists : the cotton doctrinaires. But it is time that these men should be unmasked. It is time for a reaction.

Since the introduction of the Reform Bill—one of the pompous gifts proffered with so much ceremony to a grateful nation—parties have almost entirely changed places. The Radical of that day, startled at the gross imposition, which has been wrested from his hands by others, or perhaps really discovering that the abuses, he wished to curb and destroy, are not rectified but increased by the means he once advocated, is now the champion of Protection; whilst the Tory party is split up into two: those who are sincere representatives of their order, but who are now in great measure reduced to reason and stripped of their old prejudices; and those who basely succumb to the false pressure of the age, identifying themselves with the vulgar monied interest, the mill-ocracy and the cant of the machinists and “philanthropists.” Thus, in the persons of the best and most sensible men amongst Radicals and Tories, the two extremes meet to guard the institutions of the country: one representing an oppressed people, the other the people and themselves. The centre represents self alone. No measure, however fatal or ignorantly experimental: no concession, however paltry, is sufficient to exhibit the policy of the last denomination. Place, fortune, or notoriety, is all they desire to gain or keep, and in their whole leaven there is not one grain of patriotism—we had well nigh said virtue. The so-called Liberal interest has had its triumph and ended in smoke and ashes. Cloaked and masked under the insidious garb of false liberality, money, the promoter of almost every evil upon earth, exercises a predominating influence over the councils of the nation. But, in reality, it enslaves, vitiates, and threatens more in one year, than a century of corrupt nobility. These required doubtless a check. They required that the interests of the mass should be repre-

sented. But they have had more than that check : they have been pommelled and chastised most unmercifully. They infringed upon the freedom and liberties of the people ; but, as they had always a permanent stake in the country, at any rate their deliberative acts were guided by some wisdom : they upheld the glory of England ; and even if her glories were sometimes cruel, they were not tinsel. Now, everything is one universal gamble. It is not the partial irruption of *parvenus* to seize upon the places formerly occupied by the lord and the land-owner : it is the continual appearance and disappearance, upon the scene, of *men without character*. The nation daily loses caste and dignity, as well as happiness.

Heaven knows that we are no worshippers of birth, abstractedly, or immediately. We take a duke for what he is worth, and have ourselves splintered a liberal lance. We are conscious of having attacked frequently and violently the abuses of rank. But we see a worse race springing up, and our views are modified to the extent of recognizing land and its representatives, as necessary to the boasted original constitution of England ; whilst, on the other hand, we see a rotten class simulating liberality and benevolence, which rides on the neck of the nation, and spurns poverty with a golden hoof shod with iron. Such should be the device on our coins—the Capitalist trampling upon Poverty. We believe, that the remnants of our uninvolved nobility would be glad to sacrifice much now to the necessity of the nation. Money is far more greedy and imperative than birth. The latter often patronizes merit : it can afford to do so ; but the former, never. The former chokes and strangles the higher attributes of the mind, and it is to

this may be attributed the decay of the higher efforts of literature, genius, and art. A Lorenzo de Medicis has existed in former ages : a Duke of Devonshire does in this ; but who ever associated a Rothschild, or a Baring, with literature, or the arts ? The walls of banks and counting-houses are generally bare, and when even a Peel displays connoisseurship, it is but in the beaten track of monied complacency, which covers the walls of dining rooms and galleries at a price per yard. That is to say, such a man buys pictures upon which former taste has placed, by consent, a marketable value as mere commodities. Meanwhile, the genius of the land starves in garrets unaided. Intrigue, sycophancy, or chance, may, it is true, step in to the assistance of mediocrity, and there are a few instances when commanding talent has found unaided admirers in the breasts of the public ; but the total result of our unbiassed survey teaches us a far different lesson.

Let us, however, relinquish this subject, which scarcely comes within the scope of our work. We may, at any rate, allude to the morals and honesty of the nation. Where in the world is to be seen Prostitution in such a shape as that in which it exists in England ? * In London, in our great towns, ay,

* Holland may be cited. Prostitution is rife in all heavily taxed countries. But we deny that it is equal to that which exists here. France is a country, we had almost said, by nature, demoralized. The English character is happily, in this respect, as yet, different from the French. In the latter nation illicit intercourse between the sexes is a science : it is, at once, legalized, and the subject of unholy development. Yet, even in France—especially if we leave out the *grisette* class, which is rather a national and natural, than a forced result—the actual amount is not equal to that in England. In quality it is far worse : in quantity, much less. France, amid all her revolutionary excesses, is more wicked, but less unhappy.

even in our villages, to what a degree this melancholy evil has arrived ! We speak not only of statistical excess, but of general looseness and depravity, amidst classes that were once models of decency and decorum. There is so much assumption of affluence : so much pretence to easy circumstances : so much real rottenness and concealed insolvency, that people seem to fancy there is too much stability in marriage to allow of its responsibility being incurred amongst persons in what was formerly a respectable line of life. Then, again, the fluctuation of circumstances is such, in all trades and professions, that thousands of women are plunged, at once, into want, with nothing but the streets between them and the workhouse. They become the Magdalens of necessity and starvation. Whilst the fusion of classes and the consequent necessary contact between persons in a different station of life, throw down the social barriers of protection, and make others the victims of circumstances and temptation. A shallow education, which ripens more easily in the minds of women, teaches them ideas beyond their sphere, and makes a happy union in their own class impossible ; whilst the ruin of small tradesmen, and even of great houses, continually occurring, owing to the desperate system pursued in mercantile transactions, and the universal fine-drawn competition, crowds the market with frail images of the moral death in life, which forms so sad a feature in our mass of civilized evil. We assert, that there is no country in the world, scarcely a large town anywhere, where the proportion of sexual profligacy is so great as throughout the more populous districts of England. Despite what we have just stated about our Gallic neighbours presenting a more ready

personification of original sin, we cannot but be sensible that their example is, in many instances, but too faithfully followed. A thousand abominations have crossed the channel, wafted hither by an easy transit. The train of virtues, so beautifully described by the Latin poet, still however lingers, and only lingers, with backward glances on the land it seems prepared to abandon altogether. This, we assert, is caused by money, i. e. its fluctuations and uncertainties: the struggles of the productive classes: the too great wealth and luxury of the few: the too easy acquirement and sudden loss of fortunes: the ruin and distress, against which foresight could not provide: the excessive supply of money, which is, at once, the index of national civilized prosperity, and the stamped die of misery, and its want of circulation to the extremities. It is, indirectly, the result of debt and taxation, of luxury and pauperism, and of a system, whose influence upon the majority of the community is unwholesome and rotten. The mercenary genius of our tutelary Britannia offers for sale the honour of her humbler daughters, and winks at the licensed abandonment of those to whom vanity and folly have taught dishonour.

Let us now turn to the articles of honour, honesty, and faith. The tenderness of reputation is a matter of past history. It is no longer a question of "What is a man?" but "What has he?" The amount of trickery practised in commercial relations is incredible. An honest man has no fair chance. He is elbowed out of every transaction. Thus we find that good men are generally unfortunate in business: that imprudence consists in not being a rogue, and that knavery and deception must be partners in success

and prosperity. Where is the old character of the British merchant, whose word was as good as his bond? To steer clear of the punishment of the law is indeed a desideratum with all; but we venture to say, that in the majority of commercial houses, transactions continually take place, which are neither strictly moral, nor legal, in order to enable them to keep pace with the times. Law, itself, is so doubtful a process, and its name has such a bad odour, that parties frequently suffer any injustice rather than recur to it. Its process is too old-fashioned and expensive, and its results too dubious. People must be inceptively sharp on their own account, and cheat as well as be cheated, in order to float triumphantly on the prosperous tide. A man fights too up-hill a fight in the recovery of a thing: he must be sharp, and not let go.

A generous man can scarcely exist in these latter days. He walks about in an universal plot to strip him. This is no morbid picture, but true of the relations of life in this country. Who would be bond for a friend? Who would deliver up the deed without the money, or the money without the deed, and hope to get off safe? We do not say that rogues never existed till now, or that trickery was not practised before the first comedy was ever written; but this universal state of dupery, suspicion, imposture, victimization—this brazen age of commerce—is peculiar to our present circumstances.* At the same time, there never was a

* Since writing the above we have seen the following admirable description in the *Times*, April 19th, which we think so illustrative of our position that we cannot help quoting it:—

“The glimpses we get of the real condition of society from the investigations of bankruptcy and insolvency commissioners, police magis-

greater degree of recklessness, gambling, misplaced confidence, and successful effrontery. We are so accus-

trates, judges of assize, committees of investigation on railways, and so forth, are almost enough to make one distrust all outward tokens and symbols of respectability. The long-headed solicitor, to whom you run in difficult times, and who seems so sharp and so astute that in the course of his thirty years' practice he must have turned the weaknesses and vices of his fellow creatures to good account, may have, at the moment you enter his *sanctum*, just executed a fictitious mortgage, in order to get into his possession the money of an inexperienced client. The mild-looking, benevolent Quaker, who sits opposite you in a railway train, whose very aspect puts you in good humour with human nature, whose lips drop virtue, and whose eyes beam with genial humanity, is manager of a savings-bank—the oracle and prop of a county town and of the country-side. In his hand there is a book, which you take to be the early history of Pennsylvania, or some work of a still more edifying nature. It is no such thing. It is merely a miniature ledger in which the man of respectability has entered the sums out of which he has swindled the customers of his savings-bank. Disembark at the London terminus, and attend a railway meeting. Mark the hero of the place—calm, bloated, and self-satisfied. Lords and ladies, merchants, dandies, and manufacturers, have grovelled at his feet; he, at least, must be secure in his integrity, or he would not venture to trample underfoot all symptoms of objection to his sovereign will. Although you cannot penetrate the mystery, you assume that all must be right, and that under that dogged, arrogant demeanour there is a mind at work fitted for the solution of business problems, and at this moment engaged in providing for the interest of the shareholders on a system far beyond their comprehension. Again no such thing. The railway dictator is merely meditating upon the most ingenious method of falsifying accounts, of running up shares to an undue value, and making good his own escape. That is his only secret; that the solution of this living enigma of monied respectability. Such is the condition of modern society; and so dubious the character of the man who sits next you at a dinner table, in whose portly presence you have felt it politic to smother your own timid merriment, and postpone your modest view of passing affairs. There is no outward token of respectability which can be safely relied upon; a front pew in the gallery at church, in which the tenant may stand up ostentatiously, when, according to the rubrics, he should be seated—a well-polished sideboard and a calm butler—a long

tomed to see a man a beggar one day and riding in his carriage the next, that the assumption of a large fortune often equals the credit of having it. Who will easily forget a late case, where an individual retained a moderate salary and the confidence of his employers, whom he was daily robbing, on the strength of being supposed to have successfully dabbled in railways? "He might have made a large fortune—who knew?" So the mysterious god Mammon was allowed, in the person of a "Titmouse," to ride down in a carriage and pair, and enter on the duties of a high stool in a top story office. The directors smiled benevolently on their spirited young clerk—perhaps, felt honoured by his remaining there. Why did he do so? Was it force of old association, or did he secretly love one of their daughters? Did he bestow on them box-tickets for theatres, tokens of a magnificent twin management? At last the bubble burst. "The villain, the wretch, the mean, dastardly little monster, the snob, the" Stop there! the snobbism perhaps lies with the victims, as the guilt attends the imposition. We give this case as a familiar illustration of things, that could scarcely be conceived, except by those who are acquainted with the avarice, dishonesty, and gullibility of mankind, when acted upon by a diseased money circulation. The brief career of the famous

olive great coat and a brown silk umbrella—all these tokens of trustworthiness may be the appurtenances of mere knaves and swindlers as well as honest men. Nay, even 'a park,' the last test of English respectability, has in turn proved as little worthy of credit as all others. There is no trusting to appearances; to the old saw we must come at last, and adopt it as the principle of our lives."

Is not this exquisitely painted?

Scottish adventurer, Law, illustrated all these points. But this was merely a false system of finance; *without being grounded upon the miseries of the people*. Wealth merely stripped itself, like the dog in the fable, at the command of an unprincipled adventurer, and it is worthy of notice that this first paper banking system established upon an imaginary basis, and dependent upon the fluctuations of false credit, was the offspring of the brain of a sharper. All the same social evils showed briefly pre-eminent then, which have since obtained such a fast hold here. The arts of a Cagliostro usurped the place of religion. Women flung aside modesty and delicacy: men forgot honour and worth. It was a general scramble for money, not existence: now it is a struggle for existence and gold.

Such is the state of things incidental to the dishonest borrowing of the Pitt school and the return to the metallic standard by Peel. Such are some of the consequences of debt and taxation, which we have endeavoured partially to describe in this and preceding chapters. Such, in effect, is the condition of Great Britain.

“*Damnosa quid non imminuit dies ?
Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiore.*”

We now intend to describe to the people of England, or rather to the suffering portion of the community, what that is, under the pressure of which they suffer, and how it was engendered, fecundated, spread about and identified in all its ramifications with them and their interests.

We observed some time ago, in speaking of the sufferings of a female lace-manufacturer, that she, poor creature, little knew in what manner she was paying by her feverish toil for the errors of former governments, or a blind continuance in them by later rulers ; that she was little aware that her sinews were stretched, for the dishonest forestalment of the produce of the nation's yearly industry ; or that the scientific blunders of complacent ministers had doubled former extravagance. To recur to an old subject, let us see, besides present profusion and reckless expenditure, for what she pays her fifteen hour tribute of daily suffering. Her labour was first pledged by William III., a brave, but foreign prince, with the assistance of a bribed Parliament, in order to free Holland, a country to which he was devoted, from the interference of France. This monarch, coming in at a period when a king was badly wanted, and being glad to exchange privileges for money, was voted enormous private supplies, which he used, to bribe Parliament to advance public supplies to conduct this war, entirely useless to England. He died : leaving the nation in debt, £17,000,000. This sum, the nucleus of after enormity, still preys upon the vitals of the lace-maker. She has dearer food in consequence. Then came a war for the Spanish succession. What was that to us ? Under George the Second, came the Austrian succession, and the "Seven years' war." What had the people to do with these, save to weep over bulletins ? This was £87,000,000. Do you not begin to feel this, unhappy lace-maker ? Now for the American war, an iniquitous blunder perpetrated by George the Third, and his minister, Lord North : the death of Chatham : the

disgrace of the country : the loss of America. The debt swells to £268,000,000 ! We then avenged the death of Louis the Sixteenth. What was the King of the French to us ? This was, however, a mere bagatelle of £10,500,000. Then came the war against Napoleon, which might have been avoided, or, if not avoided, might have been confined to defence and the marine business, instead of being carried on with reckless subsidies, in the championship of a set of thankless, ungrateful Portuguese and Spaniards, who, whilst we dyed their land with our blood, treated often with envy, malice, and desertion, those who fought for all, bled for all, and paid for all. Why, at all these battles, till the final great and bloody tournament at Waterloo : where, of course, we bore the brunt : we fought, like Ivanhoe, in armour borrowed from the Jews, but did not, like him, find ransom from the foe to pay it, or a tutelary divinity to restore the debt. What then ? We lavish money like water, or our blood, upon Holland, Russia, and Austria, and actually pay for the return homeward of the allied armies. £400,000,000 is the tune now, good woman ! She does not hear, she fancies it is "all that machinery," and thinks that the rich are very mean and cruel. On the contrary, we are very generous and kind. We excuse the debts of foreigners and fortify their towns. Nay, pay strangers for garrisoning them ! We say to Paris "Keep your paltry £5,000,000;" and to Austria "We are in no hurry for your £17,000,000." Then we turn round, and lend money to build up trumpery constitutions, and are ready to send Quixotic expeditions everywhere. Nay, we got a little out of China. That was a mean thing ; but extravagance,

often, does the meanest actions. Then philanthropy and Wilberforce, with the cant which looks through the reversed end of a telescope at misery and injustice at home, and with a solar microscope at unhappiness abroad, stepped in, mopping the eyes like a sore-eyed undertaker at the door of a gin-palace, to ruin our West Indian trade, and compensate the owners—all, all, at the expense of the lace-maker : of the working industry of Great Britain. But that is not enough. She must do more. She must support a yearly fleet, to prevent other nations trafficking with the Princes of the interior of Africa for Negro liberty—regardless of results, regardless of expense, regardless of the lives of the “rescued,” of the lives of the rescuers, of all but a false, blind principle—leaving the hideous array of human misery uncared for at home—leaving Ireland a blot on the map of the world, forgetful of Staleybridge, of poor-house unions, cellar lodging-houses, Destitution, Starvation, hollow-eyed and blue-lipped, in the streets—unmindful of the skeleton frame-work of galvanized humanity, whose clattering round of castanets is heard, in frightful jubilee, mixed with the writhings of the monster, Machinery, amid the green fields, and sunny corn of England. Why, if we must be thus chivalric ; why, if it is the mission of England to stop the slavery of Africans, do we not boldly challenge the United States themselves ? There would be a devoted consistency at least in this ? Our conduct is far more polite and amiable. But it is all rank folly, cant, sham enthusiasm, wrong principles.

A Greek loan ! We should as soon think of lending money to a walking gentleman in a farce—we do not mean the player, but the character depicted : to

the jingling familiarity of a racket-player in the Queen's Bench, or to a shabby strange Jew. But these are the acts of our legislators, for which the patient labour of our lace-maker pays. Her dim eyes can scarcely follow the nimble movement of her fingers. But the latter would continue to make lace, if she *were* galvanized after death, instead of in life. She cannot see well. The poor of Great Britain do not see well. It is fortunate for some that they do not.

Those, who approximate, in station, the rulers of a country, in some degree, ape its conduct. It is natural to suppose, that a Government gives tone, at any rate, to its supporter. Hence, individuals are found zealous in the cause of Poles and Hungarians. Hence, the rich gifts that await these unfortunate men here, at the hands of private individuals, and public charities; although we have not dared to fight their quarrels openly in the face of nations. We can only fight conventionally. The Caucasians may be swept from the face of the earth. If any of them should escape and arrive here, we might perhaps give a Caucasian Ball, or institute a Circassian Fancy Fair, for the purposes of relieving them. The interference of England to rescue a petty power from suffering is far too abstract a question for us to enter upon; but we cannot help remarking, that an interference on behalf of Poland, before Poland had been destroyed, if not a legitimate expense to incur with borrowed money, had left a far more dignified and hallowed reminiscence than the details of our African Coast blockade. So in the case of the Caucasus. So, many think with regard to Hungary. But the English labourer and the Irish peasant are

not in a position to lend succour, aid, and money to any nation, under such circumstances.

By means such as we have above recited, before we were led into a trifling digression, has the National Debt been acquired; together with a monstrous yearly expenditure, such as generally accompanies the proceedings of extravagance, when so deeply involved, as to become reckless. All the fallacies and sophisms of sciolists, or tricksters, cannot get over this. It is in vain to say, that any good can come till this be removed. *What are our present prospects of its removal? Why only these, that by an incredible amount of folly, weakness, and rapacity, we are so fast knocking out the few remaining nails that hold us together in the way of Protective regulations;—we are so determinately hurrying on ruin, and destroying the remnant of our Constitution, by crazy jobbing, and blind expediency; that the end, in some shape, is not far distant, and the threefold shape it approaches in, is Revolution, Famine, and Decay.*

It is nonsense to speak about amelioration without sweeping measures. We remember, during our school days, to have read in Herodotus that during the great pressure of misery in Lydia, under the reign, we believe, of Croesus, a royal capitalist of those days, that the game of dice, or bones, was invented, called in the Greek *Ἀστρογάλοι*, in order to beguile starvation of some of its pangs. In this manner men were allowed to eat one day and play (upon tomb-stones?) the next, i. e., they ate and played on alternate days. The remedial measures which are now mooted in the House of Commons equal this, if we take it as an earnest fact, in absurdity and insult. They are certainly less plausi-

ble and less engaging. But, if we look at the schemes and measures which pretend to go beneath the surface, we see nothing but mischief—glaring, threatening, palpable mischief—in every part of the acting political economy of the times. Contrary to all the received opinions of sound legislators and of philosophical writers: contrary to experience, theory, and past and present example at the hands of other nations, the men, in whose hands we are, viz. the present Government and the majority of the British House of Commons, are intent upon schemes, which seem to be the offspring either of the honesty of madmen, or of the dishonesty of men gifted with a very little sense.

We scarcely know to which to refer it; for certainly a great proportion of these fatal advocates have something to lose. We believe, however, that in the highest quarters it is *desperation yielding to expediency*; an attempt of natural Protectionists to be *falsely liberal* in order to reconcile themselves to the apparent features of the day: stamping themselves thereby as an anomaly which cannot exist and must fall; as in the instance of Pope Pius IX. and Louis Philippe. Into this predicament the late Governments of this country have, in a great degree, precipitated themselves. Rivalling each other in attempts to offer the greatest sacrifices to the outward pressure: out-selling and out-ticketing each other in popularity: never, it is true, offering solid articles, but only the made-up trifles which dazzle the uninitiate eye: they have at length pushed each other into the slough of difficulty and despond, and the last in power will have the greatest fall, obloquy and danger,* when the day of

* It is thus that Peel may have been observed to have betrayed the

reckoning arrives. Conduct such as this resembles an attempt of obnoxious individuals to wear the cockades or badges of the people, to escape popular tumult ere the application of a Shibboleth, which at once discovers and destroys them.

We have hitherto laid everything at the door of the debt and taxation. But our present proceedings would be alone sufficient to reduce us to a fourth-rate nation ; even were we to commence with a clean slate and an economical expenditure, merely raising taxes sufficient to pay our annual expenses. Free-trade without reciprocity : the abandonment of our navigation laws, which have been the basis of England's commercial prosperity since the time of Cromwell ; our cold reserve towards our colonies, and their probable loss : the rapid growth of the United States, rivalling us in everything with an elastic future before them : the neglect of our agricultural interest : the unhealthy increase of manufactures, without proper measures to maintain them at the high pressure degree : our future dependence upon foreign markets for grain : our incredible folly in weakening instead of strengthening the army and navy, and the singular care which we take to destroy our nationality : together with, lastly, our blind initiation of all other countries into our secrets, improvements, and discoveries in art and science,—these alone are sufficient to plunge an

Productive, or Conservative interest, in his desire for ephemeral distinction, by his mistakes, or his incapacity. But no man can serve two masters : nor in the political world can a party long exist with a double face ; for measures will be thrust upon it, which must soon serve as indices. It will not be permitted to Peel, even if he is willing, to rectify in any degree the mischief that he has done.

island, not gifted with a spontaneous fertility far exceeding the wants of its inhabitants, into desolation. A great country, whose revenues decrease, has been justly pronounced by some political writer as far less enviable than the smallest country that is progressive. Thus, we need not the weight of the national debt to press down the industrious classes, in order to hasten the fatal consummation. As long as aliens do not hold British stock in a greater proportion than we do foreign, the debt is an internal affair, merely giving consumers the advantage over producers. This is in itself fatal to a nation ; but we shall soon, as matters are unhappily arranged, owe a much greater proportion to foreigners. At present, we cannot say that our debt of £808,000,000 is entirely lost to the nation. It is only in wrong hands, producing those extremes of misery and splendour, upon which we have dwelt. It has not been sunk in the sea, nor has it paid tribute to a foreign country. It is only a tax upon internal industry and a curse upon labour. But soon all this will fatally alter. Protection and machinery have enabled us hitherto to struggle on. One is more than yielded : the other is no longer our own. Our dilemma will work with a cube-root power of increase.

It is melancholy to reflect upon time and opportunities lost and money thrown away ; but, when we add to this, acts of suicidal folly and a cruel abandonment of sacred trusts and advantages, sorrow is lost in wonder, wonder changes to indignation, and indignation, too full to speak, wrings its hands in silence, and assumes the gloomy attitude of despair.

The Emperor Napoleon predicted ill of England;

when she should sacrifice the interest of the land to manufactures.* What would he have said, if he had lived to see us sacrifice our shipping interests? Speaking to *La Cases* of national industry he classed it thus:—Agriculture, Manufactures, Foreign Trade. The latter two he said were made for the former, and not the former for the latter two. He said that the case of Holland was different,† because she had neither of the former, and that, therefore, being only a commission agent, she should exercise an entire free trade. He called us a nation of shop-keepers, and compared us to the Carthaginians; because he saw a narrow-minded policy, which, absorbed privately in the acquisition of money alone, as it was engaged publicly in dishonestly squandering it, forgot entirely to legislate for the future, and sacrificed everything to a base expediency. The opinion of great men is not to be despised. It is more valuable than public opinion, and forms always a land-mark of the real sense of the age. It is as much more valuable than popular feeling, as the sense of Cromwell exceeded that of the “Barebones” Parliament.

Cromwell established our navigation laws, although the Act was called 12 Charles II. The memorable dicta of Adam Smith and Cobbett have sealed nearly two hundred years’ experience of their efficacy. But we must needs play with ruin, and experimentalise with assured good fortune and sound doctrine. We must needs be blinded by mercenary sophisms, and make England the

* *Vide* Lord Ebrington’s Conversations.

† Holland and Venice are both examples of the transitory grandeur of unproductive countries.

test of their falsehood and folly. But we lose patience with the subject, and if, throughout this part of our work, we are accused of too great a disposition to declaim, we must humbly attribute it to our honest grief at the position of affairs, our regret to see the opportunities of England lost, and our fear to see her sink unnecessarily, and, as it were, cruelly urged by her own rulers, into a fourth-rate nation.

Amidst the various writers of talent and eminence, who have considered these subjects, it appears to us, that no one has succeeded in providing remedies sufficiently extensive, and, at the same time, sound, to meet the evil. It will, therefore, be deemed great presumption in us to state, which we nevertheless do, that we consider, on the whole, our plans far exceed, in their immediate capacity, the distress of Great Britain. We think, moreover, that by the *incorporation of Canada, and the traffic with the East brought West*, which we have dwelt upon, that the British empire would assume and maintain a greatness it has never yet aimed at. This greatness will, otherwise, fall to the share of North America—for it is idle to speak of the United States apart: foreseeing, as we do, an empire, or empires, denominated American, which will be equally grand, either in unity or division. There have been many works published, which continue swimmingly up to the remedial plans, and are there lost in utter silence, or failure.

A pamphlet, written lately by Mr. Newman, on the subject of the National Debt, is a brilliant instance of this. After deprecating the profligate conduct of statesmen, who have thus saddled posterity with a curse, and, after clearly showing, with considerable

ability, that the public creditor receives his dividends "by indulgence, as a matter of expediency, but not by law or right;" since no minister and no Parliament *could* dispose of that upon which they had no claim: after lamenting and blaming, in the strongest terms, that the industry of any age should be charged with the unrighteously acquired debts of another, how does this writer propose to meet the difficulty? Why, by saddling one generation, that is, the thirty years to come, with £9,000,000 a-year, in excess! He thinks sixty years to come too much. To "dictate to a third generation," he says, "is monstrous." We do not, we must admit, see where the monstrosity, with regard to a future age, begins or stops. Certainly, to correct an abuse by increasing it is a novelty, which the age to come would not admire: besides, it is impossible. The next thirty years can bear *nothing* more: but something less will be necessary.

Another able writer (Bernard) speaks of discovering the origin of "moral evil!" The most sensible of all is certainly the author of the "Curse Removed," to which we have before alluded. He *does* attempt to pay off the debt by sensible means. Many otherwise sober writers seem to exhibit a vague idea at the conclusion of, or even sometimes throughout, their various works, of an indefinite change in the social system and the manner in which the world will, in future, be governed. We cannot see what this notion has to do with present embarrassments; even if it have a foundation in truth. In the present aspect of affairs, we must confess that we see such confusion, that a return to the dark ages, and a state of ignorance and barbarism, is more to be an-

ticipated than anything like this millenium in political economy, and the relations of life. The continent of America, north and south, was once before inhabited by a civilized population. Perhaps, at distinct epochs, the Deity prescribes a limit to the ingenuity of man. Human nature, *per se*, has ever been the same: nor have we advanced a single step in public or self government. The general opinions of the mass are as wrong as ever, whilst single leaders are as fallible and corrupt, and every real, great and noble spirit, that has striven with anarchy and oppression,* every innovator upon established custom, every dealer with first principles, based upon truth and founded upon conscience, has fallen a sacrifice to avarice and ingratitude, misconception or doubt, sooner or later. The grand instincts of such men, as developed by circumstances, have been sub-divided into petty and selfish motives by those utterly incapable of analyzing or appreciating them—their very necessity of rule, in order to guide, interpreted into the basest ambition, their small errors unpardoned, their great virtues forgotten. For no man can please the good and the bad, or the wise and the foolish. No man can represent two interests, or gratify twenty, and there are always sufficient persons, who live upon the very ruin of a country, to create a certain opposition and unpopularity, that may even

* It is an interesting study to trace the truth of these remarks, in the history of the past. Cæsar, a true patriot, who sought to relieve the people from the pressure of a monied Aristocracy, was stabbed by Brutus in the name of Liberty. He fell a victim to the monied interests of the usurious Patricians; the reaction occasioned by this act causing the most fearful dynasty of autocratic power to arise that ever stained an Imperial throne.

triumph over a just and great ruler. The end of public measures has never been allowed to be the test of their real value. We only legislate for the instant, and stop leaks as they occur. Chance is allowed to be our real law-giver—that which with us is chance; but is the intention of Providence.

The greatest ruler this country ever had was, undoubtedly, Cromwell. But he possessed the hatred of every party swayed by base and avaricious motives; though he really owned the heart of the nation, and the respect of the world was accorded him. A nation never thinks for itself really, nor acts *en masse*; except in disorder, occasioned by oppression, or famine. If it did, it would always act the *same*; for its sense would be Right, divested of the conflicting views, passions, and motives of parties and individuals.

These remarks are intended to usher in an attempt at a description of the dead lock we are in, owing to the confusion of parties, and the predominance of the monied interest, together with the mountain of impediments, against which a great Reformer would have to struggle.

Let us first glance at the Constitution of England, and see how far it is preserved in its integrity, and how far a deviation in fact, although not nominally, from some of its most important points, has acted, and still acts, upon the welfare of the nation. Before wrong legislation can take place; such, for instance, as the illegal, immoral, and unconstitutional infraction upon the rights of posterity, by the system of borrowing upon the profits of their industry; there must be something wrong in the construction or working of the machinery of king, lords, and commons.

We conceive the Government of England, properly conducted, to be about the best and purest system ever known. A more perfect and still purer might exist, considering the whole framework and construction of society to be as a pyramid, of which the chief man is the apex, the whole being built up without ornament or expense, and founded gradually story upon story of intelligence, with an increase of representative power in ascending upwards. Such a government and its component parts must be entirely elective, and a scale of election proportioned to wealth and intelligence framed, giving the preference to land over other possessions, in proportion as land is more durable, and constitutes a safer and more respectable guarantee. * The apex or head, would direct all and choose the executive; for we hold, that one man of tolerable intelligence and a choice of counsellors has more power and aptitude for good, than any set of men curbed by an opposition, which, if it checks evil, certainly bounds good, impedes activity, and confuses. No true diplomacy can exist in a public spouting club, and little patriotism, when every man wishes to

* In such an imaginary constitution, an elective monarchy, with a fuller prerogative and more complete sway of the executive than now exists, would be necessary. Where the monarchy is hereditary, it is difficult, if not impossible, to keep the Crown prerogatives at the same point, without increase or diminution. The elective monarch would thus be the key-stone of both oligarchy and people, the former being thus kept in wholesome check, whilst the latter would gain by this apparent narrowing of their false liberty. Such a man would, probably, be well qualified to reign; while he would be subject to dethronement without the shock of a revolution, a civil war, or a royal martyrdom, upon the exhibition of such conduct as should manifestly injure the interests or the dignity of the nation.

acquire notoriety for himself. These are imperfections to guard against ; still we do not wish to dwell upon a Platonic republic, and are most content with our own form, provided we really have it, with all its faults of lavish display, its cumbrous attributes and a certain slowness, which loses many valuable points in its intercourse with other nations, and in the 'big talk,' which distinguishes the councils of the kingdom—from which the most perceptive genius can scarcely sift any good, that exists, from the mountain of superfluity, which weighs it down.

To leave this ideal constitution, let us recur to our own, the greatest and the best that has ever been known, since Cicero wrote a description of what a constitution ought to be. "*Statuo esse optimè constitutam (republicam) quæ ex tribus generibus illis, regali, optimo, et populari, modicè confusa.*"*

We say then that it is no longer *modicè confusa*, for the monied House of Commons has too great a sway, and carries out the worst democratic principles from motives, at any rate, indirectly blinded by gain and selfishness. It is the interest of these people to reverse the principle of Napoleon, and to drive us from agriculture to trade, and from home trade to foreign trade alone, and this under circumstances more ruinous than have ever surrounded any other nation at any time. Under the pressure of debt and taxation we are about to contend in foreign trade with other nations, to be dependent on them for food, and to admit them to all our privileges without even a complete reciprocity on their side. In case of a war, taxation on pro-

* *Frag. de Republ.*

ducers can go no further, and consumers are too selfish and too powerful to tax themselves,—at least the monied speculators are so. In case of a war, the supply of food would be diminished and precarious, and the resentment of a starving people would at once upset every institution. In case of a war, it appears then that the nation would be on the brink of universal ruin.

The Constitution of England was perfectly safe, as long as the two principles evolved from trade and agriculture did not combat with each other. The House of Commons was undoubtedly originally of aristocratical tendencies; since it represented the county interests and the landholders; but in proportion as the monied interest has grown and its representatives gained in numbers in the House, the British Constitution has become a contradiction: in fact, it has now lost its character. The monarchical interest is a mere shadow of authority, and kept up rather as custom, and to give a constitutional colour to what we cannot help defining as a somewhat rotten and inactive republic;—something more than a vitiated oligarchy, and something less than a virtuous democracy.

The British (so called) Constitution has acquired a vast amount of respect from its excellent satellites in the shape of the many additional laws, which have been extorted from time to time by necessity and the good sense of the nation from its rulers. Amongst these may be reckoned the laws respecting the liberty of the subject, the liability of the servants of the Crown to legal process, and the Habeas Corpus Act. The impeachment of Ministers is indeed a mere farce; as they are always protected by a majority in the House of Com-

mons. From these circumstances, and its apparent great harmonies in combining all the best parts of the three forms of government, it has not without reason gained the name of 'glorious' and perfect. But a variety of circumstances have clogged its actions, and its very virtues have degenerated into errors. The principle of opposition in parties, in itself good as a check, as we remarked before, has operated not only to impede the passing and execution of necessary measures, but to drive Ministers into follies and excesses. It is in the struggle to gain or keep the reins of Government, that democratical principles have been evolved, and measures subversive of the real rights of the country carried; since money has been at once the great object and instrument of Ministers. It was this that led Sir Robert Walpole to tax land in preference to commerce and money,* and to develop a policy, which prematurely ripened the commercial interests of the country at the expense of the agricultural.†

It may be remarked that the monied interest has always been the most powerful and active. It has always had more funds at command, and has frequented cities: mixing with and commanding, though perhaps not exercising, intellect. Thus its encroachments upon landowners and land-cultivators have been always successful; as at present they are likely to be against our navigation, our army, and our navy. It has been fre-

* *Vide*, on this subject, "Bernard on the Constitution."

† Walpole said facetiously that "landowners and farmers resemble their own sheep, who are so tame they will let you shear them and carry away all the wool they have on their backs without a murmur, whereas to tax a commercial or a monied man is like shearing a hog—all cry and no wool at last."

quently stated, that the lavish expenditure in war which has chiefly caused the national debt was the feeling of the people, and the landowners in particular. We deny, even if the country were one blaze of bon-fires, after every victory gained at the expense of our real best interests and to the cost of posterity, that the nation is responsible. It was a natural delusion, which ought to have been spared us by our rulers; and as to the accusation against land, the whole of these things were done by the creatures of money. It was the feeling described by the poet Lucan, which did it. War is the result, not of real prosperity, but of false credit—

“ Non erat is populus, quem pax tranquilla juvaret,
Quem sua libertas inmotis pasceret armis—
Inde iræ faciles, et quod suasisset egestas,
Vile nefas——
Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore sænus
Et concussa fides et multis utile bellum.”

The money-lenders formerly triumphed in war: the fund-holders now dread it. Money would selfishly and blindly disband the army and reduce the navy: entranced only by its own greedy speculations: seeking popularity for a pretence: staking England for a momentary expediency, or a sudden return; with the desperation of a gambler, or the sensual indulgence of a suicide, who would spend all ere he dies without a thought for those left behind, or one sacred feeling of obligation towards his country, his home, or fellow-creatures.

Such is the influence of money upon this country, in her conduct and measures. Such is our deplorable

condition. There is yet time to amend : there is yet hope of salvation.

Let us finally review our position and condition. It may be summed up thus. Primary cause of decline—Debt : taxation, and consequent pressure upon the lower classes, producing general misery and an incapacity to contend much longer against foreign nations. Secondary cause : the destruction of agriculturists and the productive classes, and a diseased development of commerce, which is far less necessary to make a nation happy and give stability to her prosperity, than agriculture. Tertiary : an impeded and improper circulation of money, arising from the above two causes, which creates the frightful contrast of luxury and misery. A variety of what may be termed minor features may be added, which are the results of the others, and yet reproductive of all. As, for instance, a variety of gambling transactions is generated, which employ a number of unproductive persons in injuring the credit of the nation and creating panics and general demoralization ; whilst we are delivered into the hands of a Debating Society of, for the most part, venal, selfish and often ignorant men, who chiefly represent money alone, and who are all employed in hurrying the country on to the abyss of chaotic Revolution. This Debating Society is lastly under the influence, in great measure, of a set of men, many of them of transcendent talent, genius and merit, and abstractedly infinitely better fitted by Nature for distinction and government ; who do represent, in a high degree, the intelligence of the nation. These constitute the public Press ; than which no class possesses a greater fund of general information, or greater power of the pen to

correct social abuses, check crime and immorality, and inform with light the whole heaven of society. But,—from their limited interests and from the fact of their representing capital and money alone, and that in a small degree, and from their being also in one sense unproductive, and from their ignorance of the practical workings of agriculture, commerce and general Political Economy, except as regards the latter in minutiae and forms, and from the encouragement they receive from cities and towns and operative industry far more than agriculture, and from their being cut up into parties and forced to exhibit one-sided views for gain—the members of this class are most incapable of giving sound practical advice to the legislation of England, in the broad view necessary. There are of course exceptions even to these; but they are contradicted by others, and thus the best become but the brilliant advocates of one side, or the other, with every shade and diversity of opinion, distinguished far, it is true, above the petty publications, which double and treble the amount of cheap knowledge to be obtained by the poor. Still, on the whole, the influence is a false one—or rather, it exhibits amid all its emanations and coruscations of light, true or false, twinkling or resplendent, no grand beacon, whereby to guide the destinies of the nation. Nay, it dazzles, blinds and perverts, rather than assists, legislation. There is another body of men also, to whom it is worth while to advert, exercising a considerable, and far more fatal and occult sway, over the sense, feeling and guidance of the nation. These are the Solicitors—unproductive helpers in the Augean Stable of the Law—who in a great measure nominate

the members of the Debating Society and are concerned too widely and deeply in the property of individuals and the nation. These are almost entirely offspring of the debt and taxes. They have grown out of the misery of the nation with an extraordinary fecundity. But, in a state of real prosperity, they would as quickly resume their proper position. Fifty years ago, the unprincipled attorney, the 'Glossop' of a village, or country town, was a character every one met with a few times in life. One could trace then the career of such a man; till he finished his days in a house equal in splendour, or superior to the neighbouring parsonage: a green door and brass knocker were the *ultima Thule* of his ambition. He was dreaded and hated by the small; but not courted by the great. He was the petty scourge of society; but not its genius. He did not entertain lords at his table, or buy up a manor. He did the dirty work of an election; but did not choose, and carry the member triumphantly. He did not get up railways, or influence bills for the House of Commons. In fact, his was not then a monster growth spreading its ramifications throughout the whole of society; but a necessary working adjunct of the law, frequently noxious and mischievous in individual cases; but not palsying the very heart of society by the continual infringements of a corrupt power. To this subject, we shall, however, revert in a different work. It is certain that for the redemption of England is required also a "Code."

We should like here to allude to a feature of the times worthy of remark, which is, however, too speculative a question to dwell upon. It is a thing not anticipated a century ago; but which exercises a

considerable sway upon the destinies of England. It is the growth of a fourth class of society, most important in numerical quantity : a class undescribed by Shakespeare, or Aristophanes, by Terence, Tacitus, or Molière ; but familiar to our stage, the glass of real life, and minutely painted by a Charles Dickens, and the school that imitates him, without his kindliness or wit. Formerly, we had three classes in England : the aristocracy, the middle-class, and the people. Now, we have a vast body existing between, without connecting, the latter two : the result of cheap and superficial education : composed of beings without character, or earnestness ; fond of change, licentious and dangerous. Let any one consider this deeply, and he will see a wide-spreading social change. He will see a restless, turbid and shallow fermenting mob, ready for the seeds of Socialism and evil, wafted over from France. It is not the earnest folly of German transcendentalism. It is a still more vulgar incarnation than the hero of Eugène Sue ; without the talisman of the Arabian Nights, to imparadise vulgarity. It is a mixture of sensualism with imperitence : the march of vitiated intellect : the misery of a little knowledge, without soundness, or ballast ; which, working in a different material, blew the sanguinary soap-bubbles of the late confusion in France. It is not so volatile here ; but equally dangerous. It is un-English. Whilst in France it is the result of character permitted by circumstances ; with us it is a false condition arising from circumstances alone. We may be led, also, hereafter, to analyse the component parts of this Dead Sea, and show how health may be restored with care, and a new spirit engendered.

We have already spoken of the rivalry fast growing

abroad of British machinery and manufactures. 'To the cruel development of that machinery, we owe our present existence up to this point as a great nation ; in spite of all that has weighed upon us. But, if we have hitherto enjoyed the advantage of a horse, other countries are now on horseback, and fast improving in power and velocity.

We have sufficiently alluded to the extraordinary fatality of our late measures. We have shown the fallacy of Free-trade, as applied to our present condition. We have shown ruin threatening class after class. We have pointed out the curse of general competition, when we alone are in shackles, and given our deliberate opinion and warning that without restrictive duties, even were reciprocity general, we shall soon but imitate the present fate of Ireland, which alone exists as a jaded hack—kept up in harness by being yoked to a sturdy horse and flogged by a remorseless driver. Ireland, productive as she is, has been absorbed into England. England still extends over her the mockery of patronage, and keeps her from falling a prey to Europe. The interests of England will be absorbed by foreign countries. A war and a harvest wanting, and *Famine* will beset the land. A reduced army, after a few sanguinary struggles, will *not* destroy the people. When the mischief is real and deep-rooted, it is only in the restoration of order after anarchy, and not before it, that an army is efficacious.

With regard to the Navigation Laws, the beggarly sophisms of cheapness will fast invade with a band of aliens the sacred precincts of the Thames and Mersey ; whilst the English sailor has the choice of starving, or

foreign service. We not only destroy our agriculture and commerce, the two first desiderata of Napoleon ; but even our existence as commerce agents and carriers. The Americans now enjoy trade with fifty of our colonies ; which should have been ours alone. We have not been content with this. With ridiculous care and absurd philanthropy, we interfere with British ship-owners and attack individual interests : placing them absolutely under new and additional restrictions, to which the foreigners, whom we admit to all our privileges, are not subjected. In a word, we enact for ourselves, as if our enemies enacted for us, and the world looks on smiling and wonders. The Americans, whose diplomacy and policy are admirable, will not yield a point. They are cautious and wary, and check some outrageous bursts from a southern state senator, not from feeling, but craft.*

Lastly, an overwhelming and extraordinary fact presents itself to our minds.

It is the threatening drain of *Emigration*, conducted on no principles of return, which is the chief feature of the present era of Great Britain. We do not allude

* *Vide* the discussion in Congress upon the representations of our Ambassador Bulwer on the subject of coasting trade. We ask for the boon, after we have yielded everything. Mr. Meredith was much blamed by the Americans for prematurely developing their intentions as to their cotton trade. The American captains are in the habit of laughing at and deriding the masters of our British merchant ships, when they meet them here, or abroad. "What are you fools going to do next?" they say. This is an absolute fact communicated to us, since we wrote this chapter. What, indeed, shall we give up next? The trade of the St. Lawrence, or the guardianship of the Cinq Ports? We met the other day a fleet of small foreign craft entering the mouth of the Thames, and could not repress our indignation at the thought that very soon our mercantile navy will be thoroughly undermined by these

to the miserable bands of utter pauperism, which the Government and Societies assist to disappear; but to small capitalists and small traders, the bone and sinew of England, who chiefly resort to the United States. *There*, there is room enough and to spare. The material is only thereby furnished for their gigantic schemes. Who can tell where this may stop? It is a false and cowardly remedy for the distress of England. Ministers, agitated by the difficulties of their position, recklessly wave on the crowd. Bishops and clergymen and sentimentalist Young Englandites meet and discuss, and from a cloud of cant a "settlement" emerges. Young England! What a world of meaning, or no meaning in the term! England not renovated, not in a second spring of life, but imbecile, child-like, falling into the hands of her enemies. The Church patronises *Emigration*, too, because she is alarmed by the necessities of the poor. But this is only a sad and mean reparation. A hen-coop thrown to the drowning wretch whom your own negligence has swamped! The price of a pistol refunded by the successful gambler to the plucked pigeon! A soup-kitchen in the house of a lawyer for the ruined clients, upon whose property he lives!

frantic projects of benevolence. If at the moment we are blinded by the pretence of an increased demand for shipping, how soon will this be ended? For example, let it be supposed that we are the chief employers of carriages and sole wheelwrights. If we give up our immunities and privileges of using carriages, the momentary demand for wheels may be greater; but it is only until other nations have learnt to make wheels and established their manufactories as well as their market. At this moment ship-builders of all countries are entering the arena armed with superior cheapness.

What a strange picture ! a mighty nation deserted by its people—the abandonment of a noble vessel sinking without aid ! A country bleeding at all pores ! A wounded whale exhausted by its own strength, preyed on by all kinds ! Such are the ideas presented to our mind by our present schemes of *Emigration*, with reference to the state of Great Britain.

How different our plans ! In their development, how grand the return ! A country of infinite resource Anglicised ! Room and employment offered gratuitously to our distressed millions ; but without losing one valuable member to the British community ; whilst those whom distress has paralysed, or depraved, may be restored and amended. A scheme that outvies the growing magnificence of our rivals ! No “ black rainbow ” of misnamed hope to beguile the wretched wanderer from home : no broken tie : no loss of the proud distinction of birth : no renegade desertion ; but the feeling that while England is wisely abandoned, she is lovingly cherished afar : her institutions preserved : her memory honoured : her present existence revered and respected : amalgamated with a clime only distant by mileage, and brought near by science to our hearths and homesteads. Surely enough has been given away, and enough squandered. It is time for the nation to deal with severe justice, and use her own resources for her own good. If the landowners of England are to suffer, let it be for the benefit of England at large. Let her supplies be under her own command, and grown by her own people. If the old country is to be treated as worn out, let the new country be English. If, in time, the seat of the Government itself were transferred to Canada, and

England herself became the appanage of her former glory, surely this would be a more becoming fate, than to sink beneath the insolence of a foe. It will then be the parent stricken with years, abdicating in favour of the child—not the degraded bankruptcy of commercial ruin, amid the sneers of triumphant rivals. Even this, there is no reason to apprehend. At least, such a fate may be so far distant, as to defy calculation, and present no subject for speculation. England has now one great stake. Let her play it wisely. By the exercise of that wise and moderate protection, which every great country adopts as the basis of her prosperity and which alone gives her the advantage over other nations, and is the per centage of her profits, she may dictate to the markets of the world, and with the vast productions of a new and inexhaustible country—over which commerce with China and Japan will make its transit, enriching Canada on the high road to England—may yet be the unrivalled mistress of the world. She will thus curb the vast progressive policy of the United States, which will then probably divide, and make a second Europe. As the tempest is a condition of nature, war is a necessity of humanity. No real demonstration to the contrary has attended a fanciful speculation. Such, at least, is our opinion; but the horrors of war will receive their greatest check in our acknowledged supremacy. These are no idle, fanciful theories. All this is not so difficult to accomplish, as the prosperity of one infant colony; even though it may receive the baptism of bishops, and the blessings of high churchmen; whilst the yeomen and able mechanics of England are drafted away, with a patent iron church, into a wilderness,

amid huzzas and waving of hats from active Sunday-school lordlings, and M.P. *doctrinaires*.

With regard to the railroad, which we confess to be the main feature in the case, the whole amount of money required for it would not exceed the late, almost useless, loans to Ireland. We have shown that private enterprize alone might do it, under the favour, sanction and encouragement of the Government.

Emigration, which is now fast trickling from the country in streams that only weaken, would then ebb in one grand tide from our shores to bear back innumerable blessings. Paupers would then be provided for, and convicts employed at any rate for a considerable period. Nay, we are convinced that by means of all these measures crime itself would become diminished, and the corrective applications of art, and science, and civilization, have full scope to work. It is worthy of remark, that at present, since crime is increased in spite of all the actual difficulties in its way, human nature must be deteriorated by suffering on the other hand from much greater temptations than formerly. These temptations would, many of them, disappear, were labour provided by the Government for all hands: not in national *ateliers*, but by means of national prosperity. One great point might be carried, by the employment of convicts upon such a work:—viz. a graduated scale of punishment, according to the offence, with the hope of being restored, after all but the blackest crimes, to the bosom of society. As it is, malefactors are not sufficiently classified; while their existence in a penal settlement, under present circumstances, unfits them, in various ways, entirely

to return, at the expiration of their term of suffering, to the mother country.

In the plan we propose, hardship, however severe, need not shut out hope. The worst may be separated from the least demoralized by the whole length of the proposed line ; whilst indulgence may follow good conduct with shy step and severe demeanour, and thus the youthful, the indiscreet, the passionate, and the too sorely tempted, may be reclaimed. In this country, how much crime springs from destitution and ignorance ! The wretched beings who commit it are punished on earth. It is necessary to do so in order to deter others. But, at a higher tribunal, Who shall be cited to answer the accusing shadows of those crimes, for whose perpetration Ignorance, Want, and Desperation were alone made responsible in the flesh ? Certainly those, whose criminal neglect was the cause of the miserable state of existence of these scape-goats of iniquity. Apart from this consideration, the whole system of punishments wants revision, and this would be a glorious opportunity for remodelling it.

We have now, imperfectly, it is true, but earnestly and devotedly, depicted the evils that weigh Great Britain down, the doom that awaits her, and the remedy that presents itself. The surplusage of this remedy over the miseries, great as they are, that exist, would suffice to build up a prosperity more lasting and glorious, than has ever crowned a nation. Will it be adopted ? It is ours ! Shall we fling it away ?

Like a city of gold-worshipping idolaters, we neglect the voice of warning ; though it is heard at mid-day in the skies. The language of suffering traced on all things around, from the gloomy wall that belts in convicted

crime to the shattered hovel that breeds it, is a sealed hieroglyphic to our eyes. We are under the influence of a spell. We have lost the right use of names. We call debt, credit; and blind expediency, wisdom. But, perhaps, the very violence of mistake will rouse the nation to reason. We have of late observed a yawn of weariness, with a kind of faint lashing of the tail, which precedes awakening. There is yet hope. There is a vague expression in the desire for the monster Industrial Exhibition.* Like the poor woman who dreams that it is "all that machinery" which causes her weary condition, the nation deludes itself with a toy, and imagines that in it there is redemption. Does it fancy that industry wants spurring, or does it chuckle

* What have foreigners subscribed to this? Yet they will be the sole gainers. "They will exhibit at our expense, with a sure sale afterwards, and a probable future *demand* for their goods." We are indeed inclined to look upon this Exhibition, as a great mistake. It is, at any time, wrong for a country super-eminent in manufactures, to throw open the doors to strangers, tell all its secrets, and expose itself to even the chance of being excelled in any department. It is an assistance to our neighbours, which we exhibit much weakness in giving. We have nothing to learn and have still something to lose. We denounce the fact of *any* competition being thus ticketed with success, or failure, in its various branches; but an *internal* one. A great Industrial Exhibition of articles of British manufacture alone would have been much more righteously conceived. As it is, the error is great. The London shop, tavern and lodging-house keepers will alone reap only a momentary benefit. Our illustrious Prince, with the best and purest motives, has been persuaded to lend the high sanction of his name to a most plausible and at the same time superficial affair. We attach anything but blame to him; since a majority of men, whose duty it is to see and avert mischief, have given the approval of the country to measures far more fatal than this, and of which this is but an index and an exponent. This is neither a primary, nor a secondary cause of evil; but will be found, ere 1852, to have done no good to the interests of Great Britain.

at the idea that we can yet show the foreigner a thing or two? Before that exhibition, let us hope that something different, something sounder, deeper, greater, will be thought of, and that thought will guide action to success, and success be the harbinger of salvation. We confess that we have dark forebodings, and a sadder reliance on the continuation of misguidance, than any bright assurance of an altered destiny. We must confess ourselves to be prophets of evil; yet we would not prophesy, save for hope's sake.

Like the faithful depositaries of the power of Xerxes bent on the fatal expedition against Greece, we amuse ourselves with enumerating the countless glories of our wealth and resources; but as we do so our hearts sink within us, and we cannot overcome fear.

Κακόμαντις ἄγαν ὀρσολοπέται
Θυμὸς ἔσωθεν.

The age of heroisms has departed. It is an era of meanness. The only heroic act remaining is the construction of a tunnel, or a tubular bridge: not for any great purpose. Annex to the tubular bridge the idea of saving a country or honestly lessening her load of pauperism, and the act becomes Quixotic, or impossible. There is yet one heroism. It is when clergymen invoke their tenants to become their antipodes, and to depart vaguely out of sight, somewhere: never to return. This is certainly the reverse of the conduct of Pharaoh, and has a one-sided approximation to the agreement between the two Patriarchs to journey East and West.

The man, who would redeem England in this way, displays but the heroism of the ostrich, who buries his head in the sand to escape danger. We treat these

fashionable advocates of emigration with scorn. They would diminish mouths at home, it is true, but not leave hands. It was formerly a saying that every man should plant two oak trees where he cut down one. The oak tree was thought symbolical of our greatness, and necessary to our navy. But what shall we think of men who would *lose Englishmen* to England? Surely it was a farce for such men to fast for the cholera!

No! our plan is to *gain* subjects, ay, and forests, lands and corn-fields, and to keep them; as they ought to keep us. Our plan is to save and not to palter. The means we have developed will do all this. Instead of losing 250,000 British subjects yearly, we propose to add, at a stroke, 3,000,000. Our next and last chapter will be devoted to the INCORPORATION OF CANADA.

CHAPTER V.

INCORPORATION OF CANADA.

It is stated by the historian Gibbon, that the policy of ancient Rome, with reference to her colonies, was such that "it was disputed which was the preferable condition of those societies, which had issued from, or those which had been received into, the bosom of Rome."* Again he says, "In their manners and internal policy the colonies formed a perfect representation of their great parent; and they were soon endeared to the natives by the ties of friendship and alliance. They effectually diffused a reverence for the Roman name, and a desire, which was seldom disappointed, *of sharing in due time its honours and advantages.*" "Where-soever the Roman conquers, he inhabits," said Seneca. Certainly this admirable policy of ancient Rome is not that which the legislators of modern Britain have hitherto desired to adopt. It is a sure proof of the decadence of a nation, when she begins either voluntarily, or sullenly, but without resistance, to relinquish her colonies. When the Romans withdrew their grasp

* For the extent to which this feeling arrived, we have the authority of Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, xvi. 13. The Emperor Hadrian expressed his surprise that the cities of Utica, Gades, and Italica, which already enjoyed the rights of *municipia*, should solicit the title of *colonies*. (Spanheim, *De usu Numismatum*, Dissertat. xiii.)

from ancient Britain, as well as from several other distant possessions, it was because they were "reduced to the necessity of defending the centre of their empire from the barbarians."* We are not attacked by barbarians. The multitudes that press on us are internal and self-generated. They are not the offspring of those outward and fortuitous circumstances, which a nation can no more repress than an earthquake.† They are the result of bad economy and false legislation, and might have constituted our bulwark, our strength, and our prosperity.

In proposing to incorporate Canada with this country, there is a great temptation to show how far our own constitution is failing from a variety of causes. But in the general scheme of amendment, which a wise and great Minister may adopt and pursue, these very faults would be rectified. Thus in giving, we should receive strength; as if a father and son, instead of cutting off an entail to plunge an estate into utter insolvency, by which one would not escape ruin, whilst the other inherited nothing, should wisely combine and frame such prudent measures for the future, as would render both happy, distinguished, and fortunate. In another chapter we have touched upon the democratic, monied influence which has been silently sapping the foundations of our glorious constitution, since the revolution of 1688 (making equally rapid and fatal steps under the dominion of both Whig and Tory party Minis-

* De Lolme, Brit. Constit., book i.

† We do not assert that Rome necessarily fell a victim to outward pressure. She was internally rotten before her sides fell in; but the parallel can only commence in these two cases to be drawn from the points of results.

ters), and which now threatens absolutely to destroy all, in one crash of universal ruin. We care not for the title of Alarmists. It matters not to us, if people say "Oh! we have heard this for the last thirty years. 'Tis an old echo of Hume, Cobbett, Attwood, *et hoc genus omne*. Pamphlets have been written on this enough to load a taxed cart, or, indeed, a waggon."* They have, indeed, and, being written, have but served to strew Downing-street with waste paper, that the iron car of Juggernaut might crush the hearts of the poor beneath its wheels, without disturbing the repose of Ministers. Meetings have been held: their echoes have died away in air. Even in Parliament, voices have been heard in vain remonstrance; but young members have coughed them down, reporters have laid aside their pens, the press has not given them space in its columns, and some specious debater has outshone their dim and distant star of Truth with a present † series of brilliant coruscations

* It was truly said by an anonymous pamphleteer of his day: "Writers of every description have employed their pens on the subject of our Monetary System; and many of the most enlightened individuals that ever lived have considered it as pregnant with ruin to our commercial interests, and threatening a revolution in all pecuniary transactions throughout the kingdom, and numerous plans have been suggested and recommended to avert the impending mischief, or screen us from its effects. *But few of them have, I believe, ever met with much attention on the part of His Majesty's Government, and probably the greater part of them they never saw.*"

† Yet of late years even the soul of that which glittered to mislead is gone. Finesse is more in request than wit, and to manage a party and talk against time are qualifications that supply the genius and fervour of a Canning, a Sheridan, or a Burke. We look in vain for the fiery animation, the brilliant and skilful tropes and splendid paradoxes, the Pindaric prose, the *numerus lege solutis* of the Augustan era of

of eloquence, passing the comprehension of the nation. Thus have superficial acquirements, when held forth by place, pride, and pension, muffled the sense of those who, with bitter feeling, have seen deeper. The pert rhetorician has outbabbled learning. Quackery has superseded Philosophy, and measures the most fatal to the country have been passed and carried by venal and shallow men, only nescient of the arts to misgovern and the mysteries of red tape and sealing-wax, protocols, the budget, and those blunders which have so often dovetailed in with accident to carry on the affairs of the nation. Yes, when we look back upon England's history for the last fifty years, we are indeed led to exclaim, "It is these fine speakers who have clothed ruin in phrases, woven folly and dishonesty into an argument, and insulted the understanding of their own age and posterity with debate and declamation." For our own part, we are among those who think that indiscriminate "spouting" has been the curse of the land. In personal vanity and the desire of seeing themselves in print, men have forgotten they were there to legislate. We think the vessel of the State is generally best guided in silence and decorum, in order that the necessary commands may be heard, and each point of discipline observed through the whole living machine amid its different degrees and orders. Not but that there are times when a Demosthenes is needed, as the Earl of Chatham merited well the honours of a warning martyr. It is the dignity of council that is wanted most, and, if we might indulge Parliament. By what sentence shall Peel be known to Posterity? "A pound is a pound!" which aphorism, to our cost, none knew so well as he to falsify.

in such a familiar illustration, the North-American Indians dealt wisely in their adoption of the pipe to give pause to their deliberate wisdom. How excellent a lesson to civilized man is the decorum of these barbarians, whose words are few, and chosen in accordance with the weight and importance of the subject before them! That a public advocate of private wrong should be gifted with eloquence we can imagine and acknowledge; but how many much wiser legislators than those in office have failed to attain the distinguished post at the head of affairs, because they were not gifted by nature with that volubility which is too often used by others to disguise mediocrity, and is the born gift of almost every Irishman! Sterling experience is most generally *silent*. But by the babble and conventionality of such men we are not to be quieted. The time has come, that the nation arouses herself on the brink of a precipice and sternly demands reason and a reckoning. The din of the waters tumbling beneath her has been overwhelmed by many confused tongues. Her ears are now beginning to open, and her eyes to distinguish, and the expediency-monger and the casuist are losing their charm, in the sense of approaching danger. True, then, it is, that alarmists have for a long time predicted evil, and that the evil, in its destructive might, has not yet come. True, that the nation has borne more on her shoulders than could reasonably be expected:* true that men have prophesied and died

* When the national debt was about fifty millions, Hume, the historian, placed the limit of endurance at one hundred millions. He said, when it arrived at this sum, England would be ruined. We have since learned to bear eight hundred millions. Hume did not see that

saying, "Lo! it is not in my day; perchance my children may see it;" but we are only reminded of the old fable, where the wolf came at last. The wolf, no inapt figure of famine and desolation, is not far off; and, if we have nothing better than words and old shreds of expediency to scare her gaunt presence from us, will howl over the ruin of England; as surely as her bronze image formed a tutelary symbol in the capitol, in the dawn of ancient Rome. Because the evil day is deferred, are we to believe the impudent sophism of Burke in imitation of Salmatius, who said, "Taxation was like the dews drawn up, to fall down again and refresh the industry of the country"? Ay, in a snowy avalanche of ruin and desolation, taxation, or rather its parent cloud of debt, *will* fall again.

We write in defiance of the men, who delight to occupy the time of the country with tedious explanations of meaningless measures. How often in former days has the nation forgotten its interests, in its blind admiration of Ministers distinguished by fluency rather than honesty, and by wit rather than character, or

the increase of population, resources, and revenue, consequent, would enable us to tax up to fifty millions, thus annually producing what frightened him as the gross amount. He did not see all the ingenious devices to be adopted, or anticipate thirty years' peace. He did not conclude that circumstances would develop ruin on a greater scale, or foretell the credit that would be given to the spendthrift, and speculate on the amazing resources of the lenders. But is this any argument against the curse of debt? Is a smash for one hundred thousand pounds more to be desired than one for five or ten, or, to be exact in our comparison, for eight hundred millions, allowing the present sum to be the ultimatum of the national responsibility? This is the language of waiters in spunging-houses and turnkeys in the Queen's Bench Prison, who look with reverence on the man that is in for thousands; whilst they despise the debtor whose liabilities are small.

prudence : the mere interpreters of party and organs of a faction regarding policy, not as it affects Great Britain, but as it is ruinous to Whig or Tory, Tory or Whig!—and how often latterly have the very mouth-pieces of the subdivisions of these, or of the two great antagonistic principles now visible, viz., agriculture and trade, land, or money, amused us on the very brink and verge of ruin ! It is of late days the fashion to run after shadow in place of substance : to yield protection, but grasp at universal peace : to give up a colony, but clothe a “Canterbury settlement” in Christian phraseology—thus, indeed, taking away the children’s bread, but giving them a stone. To solve broad questions by petty detail is the philosophy and practice of the age. It is the custom on the one hand to sport with public calamity, and on the other to get up every sort of meeting to insult distress with the impotency of Lilliputian measures. A laugh in the House of Commons follows an earnest appeal on behalf of paupers ; whilst embryo philanthropists and old experienced rogues and traders in sentiment flourish their cambric pocket handkerchiefs at the distresses of needlewomen !

The drama of political life is turned into a burlesque, but the results are still as serious. Such are the feverish symptoms which herald the “Decline of Great Britain :” * such is the moral confusion which exists.

We do not intend to enter into the question of the

* A *Frenchman* has written a work bearing this title. Would that his wish alone were father to the thought ! Would he had no reason for a title which we cannot, in spite of ourselves, disconnect from the insolence of hatred ; whilst at the same time it bears a double sting in truth and meaning !

Incorporation of Canada, otherwise than generally, in the present work. In a work devoted to this subject alone, we should endeavour to consider the whole development of the matter in all its bearings. We should not exactly frame a new constitution, since that is not our object ; although we might pass in review somewhat particularly the new model governments proposed for some of our other colonies—taking into consideration both their working apart from us to their own exclusive benefit, and the probable beneficial effects of them to this country, generally so carefully lost sight of by our own legislators. With regard to the Australians, we may here remark, that we think distance alone a strong argument in their favour for self-government ; whilst on our part it is a powerful advocate for letting them do as they please. Let us, however, leave to the members of the British Parliament to discover in debate, whether or not the colonists' desires are attended to in this important matter, or that mere party interests are fostered at home. Let them provide local legislatures and representative institutions, ready made, or to order. Let the wit and zeal of all the busy-bodies of the House of Commons exert themselves to make baby constitutions: little models struck off with a die, at short or long notice. Let New Zealand be provided with an Upper House ; whilst Canada is not considered sufficiently aristocratical to provide one. We will confine ourselves to our plan: the amalgamation of Canada with Great Britain. We are aware of scores of cut-and-dried objections and many real ones, which will arise out of the matter ; but the consideration is so great, the idea so just, and the benefits so obvious, that we feel that all objections

will be merged in so great an undertaking. It is, as we have just observed, one of the small fatal political sciences of the age to answer general questions by particular denials or assertions. Thus, were you to complain of the general decrease of shipping interests, you would be told, "Nay, there are three more ships building at Sunderland and six less at Rotterdam." If you speak of the depressed price of wheat, a newspaper quotes forced, false, or particular returns, which really do not touch upon the question—a single transaction is given from which to make a general deduction, and the game between figure and fact, by which their combination is taught admirably to delude the public, seems to be the peculiar and excellent province of a Dutch financier employed at a public salary in putting out of order the vital clock-work of the State.*

There is, however, one fact, which we must mention here. The folly of forcing upon countries so young, feeble, and undeveloped, as Australia and New Zealand, the Cape, or New South Wales, all the institutions of the old country to be carried out by themselves—whilst Canada, with her population and her real aristocracy, her merit and her need, is still kept down, and shackled by her colonial bondage of jobbing, distant governorship, jealousy, restrictions, and Crown and Church lands—goes hand in hand with our criminal ease, or neglect in giving up waste lands, which are the appanage of the people of England: a traitorous infringement upon our birthright and possession. We will not suffer ourselves again to allude to the monstrous effrontery by which the Hudson's Bay Company have sold, under their charter, real or

* *Vide* APPENDIX. "Discussions in the House of Commons."

pretended, the property of the Crown held by them. If such a power exists in such a charter, no then existing Government had the right to grant it.

But all this benevolent anxiety for our younger colonies is cant and sentimentality : not reason. It is all in accordance with the sophisms of the ruinous Free-traders. The first country to deal with is undoubtedly Canada, and to this let us address ourselves—not to create a Constitution, but to incorporate : rendering both her state and our own more fit to meet and embrace, by wise and practical measures of amelioration, improvement, and reform.

We shall confine ourselves, at present, to four questions. First, What will Canada gain by this incorporation? Secondly, What will she lose if it be not done? Thirdly and fourthly, What would England gain, or lose, upon similar alternatives? We shall, in resolving these questions, offer a few observations on the fitness of Canada to represent herself in the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain through her own elected representatives, and show that it will be, at once, grateful and politic on her part to meet us half way in effecting this consummation. We shall, probably, advert a little to her just grounds of complaint against us, and the miserable inefficiency of our plans : in spite of all of which—together with our cruel neglect, or choking interference, and the great and overshadowing rivalry of the neighbouring United States, with the internal discomfiture of single-handed emigrants, and the annoyance and interference created by Church and Crown reserves—Canada, by her own natural strength and resources, has grown into a populous and even flourishing country.

There are three different fates that await Canada. One is to be annexed to the United States : the other to become an independent country ; and the third to be incorporated with Great Britain. She neither can, nor will, remain as she is. It is, at once, against reason and historical precedent. If she does, it is an injustice to her inhabitants and name. For there is not either soul, vigour, or unity, in a country so governed. Her annexation to America would be as degrading as conquest. The rivalry of close neighbourhood, the jealousy and prejudices of years, would have to be overcome. A desperate struggle would first take place. It would be unjust to England. It would disgust the French Canadians. "There is no people in the world, so little likely as that of the United States, to sympathize with the real feelings of the French Canadians."—(Lord Durham's Report, p. 95.)

The English Canadians possess the strongest feeling of loyalty towards England: "the predominant feeling of all the English population of North American colonies is devoted attachment to England."—(*Ibid.*) Lord Durham, however, goes on to say, that he does not, by any means, assert that *no* impolicy, on the part of the British Government, may produce a change of loyalty and sentiments. Were Canada annexed to the United States, she would lose all nationality. She would be merged under the dominion of a nation of tyrants. She would be thrown back a century in the civilization of the world. The United States would, themselves, present the picture of a vast incongruous country, liable to differences, sub-divisions, and internal wars, which must arise in a republic comprehending people and climates so widely different in

race, character, and interests. But we think that no true Canadian, French or English, Upper or Lower, loyal or disloyal, can desire this ; except in the bitterness of rebellion, occasioned by the most cruel impolicy on the part of the mother country. This could never be the first motive of Canadians. It might be their unavoidable fate, should they, in a struggle against England, call in the assistance of the United States, or allow an intervention, or prematurely commence an independent government. To what encroachments and insults would they not be liable in the latter case ! To what restrictions in trade : to what exemplification of the story of the " Wolf and Lamb," in the fable ! No : this were a worse fate than to remain a neglected colony, or despised appanage. But we are prepared to value and to honour our daughter. Such briefly is the destiny which Canada must expect, either from annexation to the United States, *or, the step preparatory to it, namely*, the assertion of her independence. Now : as to her incorporation with Great Britain, let us consider what she would gain in superior advantages, as well as in avoidance of disasters. The sympathies of the Canadians with Great Britain would prevent any shock. They would pass to a more exalted state by a natural conclusion. They would give and receive honour. In their trade with the world, the protection of Great Britain would be assured them ; whilst they would never be subject to a blockade, and, in fact, would at once rise to be a great people. Their grain, timber, and various productions, would make their unrestricted trade with Great Britain one of mutual profit ; while the efforts of British capital would be directed to

the formation of great works; amongst which, the construction of the ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC RAILWAY would be proudly pre-eminent. This would give vitality to the country: it would arrive, in a quarter of a century, to that which other countries have taken centuries to attain. In process of time, the whole of our British possessions in North America would become Canadian. The name of Canada would remain—just as the name of Scotland, Ireland, or Wales. What Welshman, Irishman, or Scotchman, is not as proud of his name, as the inhabitant of Paris or Middlesex is of his birth-place? Are they not separate, though combined? Is not each country equally proud? Has not emulation bravely fired them in the common defence or attack? Why shall not Canada be added to the glorious triad?—we say triad, for Wales is but a somewhat wider distinction than the counties of York, or Kent. We think that there is scarcely a Canadian who will not respond to this desire, on our part, when frankly, fully, and completely expressed.

We conceive that Canada has a right to expect this. Her population is, we believe, now equal to that of Scotland at the Union. She is far more important to us, we say it without offence, save in actual position as a natural integral part of this empire, than Scotland either is or was. What advantages would at once be possessed by the Canadians, were our project of the Railroad realized! How soon would mighty ports arise at either terminus of Halifax and Vancouver's Island! What an increase to her lake-fleets! What development of her productions! The finest natural country in the world, she would hasten to a con-

summation in point of artificial excellence, speedily rival the United States, and, joined by the firmest links of commercial sisterhood to the Old Country, to which she is bound by tradition and the ties of parentage and right, she would unite with her in asserting the greatest empire in the world. Such are the subjects of consideration, which we thus briefly throw out to Canadians. Let us now revert to England, who is, after all, in the position to make or mar this destiny.

We have scarcely, as yet, done more than allude to our projects in the East. At this moment, we possess an eastern over-land high-road to our possessions in India. We have, also, an eastern sea-route, touching at various dependencies, which acknowledge our sway, till we arrive at our settlement of Hong-Kong. But how uncertain is the fate of the first mode of transit, depending upon peace with Europe for its enjoyment, and how long and dangerous, and difficult a voyage is the second ! Then comes the Nicaraguan treaty ; and the probable completion of the Panama canal, which, we assert, will be at the mercy of the United States, and which cannot, in case of disturbance, be otherwise than a weak point of the country most dependent on it for commerce. It was to our interest that this canal should not be constructed. Unfortunately, we appear to have arrived at a time, when we find it inconvenient to assert our interest. It appears, that towards the feeble independence of Central America—the stalking-horse of the designs of the United States—we have ceded everything, or anything. Let us quote from the synopsis of the Nicaragua Treaty, as given in the journals :—

"It will be remembered by all who know anything of the history of English policy in Central America, that great concessions from that Government were necessary to the formation of such a treaty as this.

"Her possessory rights over different portions of that large, and, in many respects, valuable territory (as it furnishes choice woods, as mahogany and other kinds, as well as other productions), extend back more than a century. All of these rights, with the exception of her little ancient colony of the Belise, which is about 800 miles distant from the proposed canal, she has surrendered."

But the United States have been the great moving party in all this. Theirs is the great advantage. They would secure the first of the trade with China; whilst California is their bank. They contemplate railways of stupendous length, to accomplish the most daring objects. They encroach and cavil, and cavil and encroach. They laugh at our policy, openly and secretly. They would steal away our trade, but deny reciprocity—insult our ambassador, or flag; but be fantastically ticklish themselves. All this, we lend ourselves to, unsparingly; whilst our only obstinacy is toward our own colonies, whom we have so much and so often offended, and our only manifested anxiety about unsubstantial trifles which embroil us, as much with other nations, as if we contested real points upon just grounds.

There is a deplorable ignorance about our relations with the western world. This is of no new date. The whole Oregon question, by the adjustment of which, though contrary to our interests, we just managed to

save our distance, and to leave a sufficient southing to carry out our Railway junction, was a disgraceful instance of folly and ignorance on the part of England's stewards. Let us digress a moment to record the following illustrative piece of history to prove this, and to show our neglect of our interests in North America and especially of the grounds westward as far as the Rocky Mountains and thence to the Pacific.

In a Memorial from the Merchants of Lower and Upper Canada to Sir George Prevost, dated from Montreal, October 14, 1812, with regard to the Eastern provinces, it is stated—"Posterity will hardly believe, although history must attest the melancholy and mortifying truth, that in acceding to the independence of the then thirteen Colonies, as States, their territory was not merely allowed them, but an extent of country, then a portion of the province of Quebec, nearly of equal magnitude to the thirteen States, was ceded, notwithstanding not a foot of the country so ceded was at the time occupied by an American in arms—nor could have been, had the war continued; and this cession is the more remarkable, as New York and Rhode Island, being then in possession of the British army, the surrender of these valuable posts and places required a large equivalent in territory elsewhere, instead of giving, as it were, a premium for getting rid of them. Yet such was the ignorance, negligence, or something worse, of the then Minister of Great Britain, and those he employed, in regard to the geographical position and the local importance of the territory ceded, that, when the merchants of London, interested in the Canada trade, waited upon Mr. Oswald, the negociator, to represent the impolitic

and improvident cession, and to discover some means for averting the destructive consequences of such conduct, in respect to the security of Canada and of British trade and influence with the Indians, he literally burst into tears—admitted his complete ignorance of such posts being in our possession, or even in existence, and of the country given away being an object worthy of notice in any respect !”

Is not the ignorance manifested now on similar points equal to that of Lord Bathurst, to whom the above anecdote refers ?

To recur, however, to the main question, which was our connexion with China and the East, by the Red Sea, by the Cape of Good Hope, and by the intended Canal. We prefer a more certain and rapid transit than all these. We beg for a little prospective policy on the part of Great Britain : something, in fact, beyond an explanation or a blunder ; and in order to carry out this policy and effect this transit, we uphold the necessity of the Incorporation of Canada.

If we should succeed in carrying out the Railway, we anticipate all these designs of the United States. We leave her and France and the rest of the world to battle for the passage of the Canal ; whilst, in case of war by land or at sea, we possess another key to the East, a second entrance, still more grand and secure. We shall thus arrive first at the emporium of China, and shall thus derive the full benefits to which our present position with that country entitles us. We shall be independent of Europe, unfatigued of necessity by the length and uncertainty of the great Indian voyage, arrive at India both ways, be within a month of Canton, and be enabled to trade without the

chance of dispute in one great circle round the world. But without the Incorporation of Canada this cannot be done. We want the full co-operation of the Canadians to carry out the work, their permission to adopt the proposed means for its completion and the certainty of their identity with our interests, present and future, to guarantee our moiety in the benefits to be obtained, when the thing is fully completed. It would be manifestly unsafe, if practicable, to entrust Canada, as a colony, with such a high road. Besides, we should not be sufficiently guarded in the case of war with the United States.

Again, should the population of England continue to outnumber her means of maintenance, Canada will supply her, and supplies so received must be safe and assured. If all these considerations be deemed fanciful, we can only repeat that the patent is in our hands, and the wonder will be hereafter that we have lost an opportunity, which were it, at present, offered to a country less besotted by its rulers, and one degree more single-minded in its purpose, less confused in the multiplicity of its abortions, and more free from bewilderment, sophistry, and an epidemic blindness of policy, would be at once seized and acted upon with avidity and triumph: either for improvement, or redemption: salvation, or a gain. Can we imagine the United States foregoing this privilege? No: then why should we? *There*, it is true that private enterprize could scarcely accomplish such a design; but Congress would at once vote supplies for the national benefit.

It is frequently observable in private life, that great objects cost no more time or trouble than small. At any rate, this is true, where the intellect and power

have any proportionate ratio to the greatness of the design. More than this is true: for great minds have frequently more difficulty in the execution of small plans, than is the case with narrow and confined understandings. A country like Great Britain, in a similar manner, is more likely to fail in her negotiations with such a state as Greece, or on any question of paltry indemnity, than in carrying out a vast commercial scheme, or political enterprize. We do not fear, that the energies of Englishmen will fail and be found wanting; when brought to bear upon some great object. We believe that our plan of incorporation is far easier, as matter of success, than to bestow a beneficial constitution upon an infant country; and that the construction of a railway from Halifax to Vancouver's Island will be found much less difficult than the Canal diplomacy of the American Isthmus. Make the object grand, the gain certain, and the result magnificent, and the genius of Great Britain will yet rise triumphant over every difficulty. It is our present task to show that to us the object is, indeed, sacred and essential. But we think this has been sufficiently demonstrated throughout this work. Over such a subject, we think even the political divisions of the State should be reconciled.

Let us now briefly turn to our position with China, and our projects alluded to before in COREA and JAPAN. A very few words will be found necessary on this point, in order to hint at future strokes of policy and dominion in that hemisphere.

It will be observed, that throughout we regard the formation of this projected line of railroad with its consequences, and the incorporation of Canada, as

necessary adjuncts to each other. The latter we consider necessary to carry out the former, and the former as adding greatly to the benefits to be derived by either Great Britain or her colony, by a design leading to such a perfect identification of interests. We are, therefore, not quitting our subject for one instant in showing the advantages of a much more immediate connexion with the East, and the prospects that develop themselves there.

By a reference to a circular map, for which we were indebted to an obliging hint from Major Carmichael Smyth, whose meritorious exertions have been alluded to in our Preface, as having first brought the subject of this railway before the public, it will be seen that such a direct transit to and from the empire of China, and all that important part of the Eastern world, is as one side of a somewhat equilateral triangle to two, or even less. This applies even to the projected *route* by Panama—"open to all nations and influenced by none."*

If we next consider our present position with China, and what it might be, we shall see, that by a settlement on the south-east part of China, or Corea, or in the almost unknown and wealthy islands of Japan, we might establish a military and commercial terminus of British and Canadian traffic, with little trouble and splendid success. The Japanese, from their civiliza-

* Even if the passage of the canal *were* guaranteed during war, surely the United States, belonging to that quarter of the globe, and having possessions on both sides of North America, would have a great command over our mercantile fleets and vessels, both before their entrance and after their exit. What convoys could safely attend, or await them? On the other hand, both at Vancouver's Island and Halifax, we should have a harbour and a fleet ready to protect British interests.

tion, activity, and reputation for business, have been rightly termed the English of the East. But it may be urged, what right have we there? To which we answer, that we were not scrupulous in obtaining a position in Borneo. When great objects of commerce and civilization are to be attained, we are never at a loss for an excuse. Since Europe became the seat of the arts, the West has always encroached upon the East. In another age of the world's history, the East, doubtless, amalgamated with and peopled the West. It is the law of necessity. We have always followed it. The jealousy of other nations, who envy our superior arts of colonization, alone condemns it. What right had we in Borneo, the French in Algeria, the Spaniards in South America, any more than the Moors in Spain, or the Phœnicians anciently in Ireland? We are not going to conquer and devastate. Hong-Kong and Sierra Leone were not more patented to us by the hand of Nature than Corea and Japan. If we do not encroach on China, Russia will not fail to do so. What have we already done there but quarrel, fight, and conquer?—whilst we have *singularly abstained from justifying to man our enormities, if they be such in the sight of Heaven, by securing sufficient advantages to stamp wrong with the die of success, and make expediency happy*—thus dazzling both the world and ourselves with the means, rather than the end. This may be sophistry; but it is thus that the great family of nations act, and have acted, since the world began. Civilization and war have ever gone hand in hand like twins, and Minerva is not inaptly depicted to have sprung armed from the head of Jove. Missionaries and gunpowder, armed steamers and religious instruction,

percussion-caps and the Gospel, have extended our influence together. Thus it is, and has been, and will be, till the end of the world. We are conscious of sophistry ; but the principle is not ours in theory, but practice ; like the reverse of Christian charity amid the prim sinners of the world, to whom a sermon from Chimborazo could not do sufficient justice. However, in proposing an occupation of a part of Corea, or a Japanese Island, we think that by a proper and effective scheme of military emigration it might be at once peacefully effected. We should then instantly assume a commanding attitude towards China, and do no more harm than we do now by our miserable policy, opium smuggling and annihilation of pirates. The China Sea would be ours : our chain of communication would be perfect round the world : the commerce of China at our beck. Is this a scheme to be despised ? Our vast territory of New Holland in its turn would communicate with us and China, by a distance incredibly diminished. Finally, Great Britain would thus in every way reap all those advantages, which she ought to secure from her vast possessions, her activity and industry, which otherwise are in a fair way of being nullified. It would give wings to her burden, consolidate her empire, and make her the mistress of the world. What is cant and philanthropy to this ? If a nation is disposed to be philanthropical, power is her first element. It is necessary to have, in order to give. If the British nation be now the one, whose qualities most adorn the inhabited globe, if she be the herald of civilization and the harbinger of freedom, it is not by a weak abandonment of her privileges that she will continue to make others good or great ; nor, by yielding

herself to the mercy of foreigners and the ingratitude of other countries.

With regard to the intrinsic value of Canada, as a mine of productive wealth, enough has been said about that. Let us merely observe that, if the present navigation laws are to be carried out, Canada is our only chance to rival the world in cheap and abundant material and labour for ship-building. Her lakes, her forests, her harbours, can alone keep Britannia afloat. If corn must now be imported free into this country to satisfy the artizan by a vain idea that he lives more cheaply ; whilst other direct, and the fearful array of indirect, taxation, grind him down below the serf in comfort, Canada must be our only Goshen in times of war and scarcity. But these are narrow considerations to those we so urgently offer. Let us conclude these remarks, by quoting a paragraph from the celebrated colonial speech of Charles Buller, which is much to the purpose, both as illustrating our views of free-trade, and our views of the value and use of colonial possessions :—

“ I say, then, that in the present day the restrictive policy of other nations must enter into our consideration as an element, and no unimportant element, of commercial policy ; and though I advise you to set the example of free-trade to others, and extend your intercourse with them to the very utmost, still at the same time take care to be continually creating and enlarging those markets which are under the control of no legislation but your own. Show the world that, if the game of restriction is to be played, no country can play it with such effect and such impunity as Great Britain, which, from the outlying portions of her

mighty empire, can command the riches of every zone and every soil and every sea that the earth contains ; and can draw, with unstinted measure, the means of every luxury, and the material of every manufacture, that the combined extent of other realms can supply.” “ The commerce of the world is narrowed now not only by our own legislation, but by that of other powers.”

This is free-trade language, which we can understand. To employ our superior means and exhibit all our power : to demand reciprocity ; but always to keep the guidance in our hands : to manage to have the exchanges just in our favour : to keep the bank at the great table of industry, round which all countries venture : this should be the task, as it is within the scope, of English industry and enterprize.

Amongst the most prominent advantages to be derived from such a scheme of colonization, as our Railway and Incorporation will not only permit, but demand, is the fact, that the opening will extend to all classes in England. In an earlier part of the work, we have shown, that a comparative poverty is found amongst all degrees. We have shown that the labourer, the mechanic, the artizan, the man of letters, the shopkeeper, the landed proprietor, the members of learned professions, the sons of peers, nay even peers themselves,* and dukes,—all these form in England a social mass, which ruin and insolvency and degradation pervade.

* A few days since, a paragraph appeared in the public journals, concerning the title of Roscommon, now vested in a private soldier, and lately in a prisoner for debt, which tolerably illustrates our observations. Can the public forget the recent downfall of the prosperity of the House of Buckingham, whose name tickets the gifts of princes in the windows of curiosity-shops and Jew pawnbrokers ? There are other instances, which we refrain from quoting.

By such means, alone, as we have developed, an outlet is assured to all. The sons of noble families will have an opportunity of carrying out their talents, their patents of nobility, and their interests, to assist in forming an aristocratical class in Canada. A great scheme of emigration is not only, at present, necessary to this class in England ; but also no great scheme can succeed without all classes form the component parts of the voluntarily expatriated body. Both intelligence, education, respectability, and *birth*, are wanting. Let us again quote Mr. Buller, on general emigration, and then ask, if all his remarks do not derive a ten-fold force, when applied to the present instance. " If," says that gentleman, " you wish colonies to be rendered useful to all classes in the mother country—if you wish them to be prosperous, to reflect back the civilization, and habits and feelings of their parent stock, and to be and long to remain integral parts of your empire—care should be taken that society should be carried out in something of the form in which it is seen at home—that it should contain some, at least, of all the elements that go to make it up here, and that it *should continue under those influences, which are found effectual for keeping us together in harmony.*" What more, let us pause to ask, can we do, than give Canada our laws and institutions to effect this ? What more can we propose to carry out these views of general emigration, than this scheme, which will demand the presence of all classes, and will offer remuneration and a field for exertion to all ? Mr. Buller continues, " On such principles, alone, have the foundations of successful colonies been laid. Neither Phœnician, nor Greek, nor Roman, nor Spaniard, no,

nor our own great forefathers, when they laid the foundations of an European society on the Continent, and in the islands of the Western World, ever dreamed of colonizing with one class of society by itself, and that the most helpless for shifting by itself.

"The government of Spain sent its dignified clergy out with some of its first colonists. The noblest families in Spain sent their younger sons to settle in Hispaniola, and Mexico, and Peru. Raleigh quitted a brilliant Court, and the highest sphere of political ambition, in order to lay the foundation of the colony of Virginia; Lord Baltimore and the best Catholic families founded Maryland; Penn was a courtier before he became a colonist; a set of noble proprietors established Carolina, and entrusted the framing of its constitution to John Locke; the highest hereditary rank, in this country, below the peerage, was established in connexion with the settlement of Nova Scotia, &c., &c."

Now, upon all this, we want to found a most persuasive argument, that thousands of the non-productive class in this country, of birth, lineage, and descent, who are in danger of being pushed from their seats by the monied influence, should turn their attention to this vast scheme for extending the real empire of Great Britain. We want education to go out. We do not either want to transplant paupers alone,—a mass of beggary crammed within the crazy ribs of emigrant ships to starve on their arrival, if not sunk on their passage—nor do we wish to send out sturdy capitalists of £500, to Australia, to get rid of the "bone and sinew" of the land. We desire to found

an aristocracy—partly from already existing stock in Canada, and partly from those who choose to go hence, and enclose deer-parks in America. We wish to see in Canada, society develop itself, fitted to take place with the princes, peers, and commons of England, and stand with them around the throne of Britain's state. This leads us to a more immediate consideration of the necessary steps towards forming houses representing the interests of our North American possessions, which shall send peers and commons here.

To commence, we are aware, that there will be many objections made on the part of some members of our haughty Upper House. Still we do not anticipate so much difficulty in this respect. It will be ridiculous and unjust to object to Canadian Peers. Not only will they be supplied by some of the oldest families in Europe amongst the French Canadians, but, as we have before stated, noble or worthy families may be induced to go out there. A regal Court will prove as attractive at Quebec, as at Dublin. Canadian hunting and fishing may be an inducement, as well as Canadian scenery, to procure the residence of others. The distance from Canada to London, measured by time, is not now greater than 100 years ago it was from London to Edinburgh; and till the invention of steam, it might easily have been impossible, with a contrary wind, to arrive at Dublin in a fortnight. Why should not princely mansions adorn choice situations upon the noble lakes of Canada? In short, give Canada thorough civilization, and sufficient population, dignify her as a nation, and identify her with England, and you have an heir-loom of greatness, of energy, and every attractive

qualification, that will last for centuries to come. With regard to the French Canadians, and the expediency of creating dignities amongst them, in order that their interests may be properly represented without shocking the pride of English Peers, we can only say that, if pure blood be wanting and simple and dignified manners, they will most probably be found there more readily than in many mixed aristocratical *salons* in Paris or London. We refer to the following account, and to the reports of travellers, for the truth of what we say. As far back as the year 1598, Henry IV. of France appointed the Marquis de la Roche his lieutenant-general in Canada, with power to partition discovered lands into seigniories and fields to be held under feudal tenure. In 1627 the celebrated Cardinal Richelieu took an active interest in this colonization, for the purpose of converting the Indians, extending the fur trade, *and discovering a route to the Pacific Ocean and to China through the great rivers and lakes of New France.* Something better than the "Canterbury Settlement;" even in those days! In the year 1663, the King of France, being dissatisfied with the proceedings of those engaged in the matter, who were probably jobbing and misgoverning at a distance from home, and instigated by some persons of judgment, who pointed out the resources of Canada: her mines of St. Maurice, her oaks and pines on the borders of the St. Lawrence, and the capabilities of the country in general, erected Canada into a Royal Government. An expedition proceeded to Quebec with 400 regular troops and 100 *families of distinction.* Under Colbert there was a fresh importation. The disbanded troops of the Carignan Regiment and other troops settled there,

whose officers became the principal seigneurs of the colony, holding their lands under feudal tenure, which still exists.* Observe, that all the officers of the French army of that day were noblemen !

From this stock, in uninterrupted succession, have descended the present families of French Canadians. Surely, without offence to a reformed Parliament and a House of Peers, to which intellect and birth and money have alike contributed, such men as these might be honoured and gratified and won to British loyalty and faith by earldoms, baronetcies, seats in the House of Commons, and even a dukedom or two, when merit joined with ancestry to recommend them. There is no necessary vulgarity amid primæval forests and on the borders of mighty lakes. If Pitt made peers for assisting his pecuniary dilemmas, and played into their hands with ribbons and information as to the stocks—slipped out, of course, accidentally after dinner, whilst the guest made a hasty excuse and escaped from the double green baize door in order to give directions to buy up the bills intended to be funded by Government on the morrow—surely the nation may with dignity employ honours and rewards, where merit is due, to consolidate her means of salvation and pay off, not incur, liabilities and add fresh incumbrances. As the prodigal, who deals with a Jew, slaps “little Moses” on the back, shakes hands, and drinks with him, and is for the moment morally circumcised into a Hebrew

* After the Conquest, the Quebec Act of 1774 restored the French laws and language. It directed that all future grants should be made in fief and seignory, as prior to the Conquest. In 1786 grants were made to the refugee loyalists from the rebellious Union. These grants were made chiefly in Upper Canada.

fraternity, so formerly the Ministers of the school of Pitt dealt with the bankers and monied men of their day, rewarding them with the honours and familiarity at their disposal, in requital for the ready means of involving for a momentary object the future estate of the nation. We will not be so invidious as to particularize any such transaction as that to which we have alluded. Let us turn to a more pleasurable topic : the admission of worth and talent to the highest honours of the State. This we acknowledge to be a feature of the age which we admire, and it is chiefly to be attributed to the influence of the law, which, however expensively and unjustly administered it may be, still has this virtue and merit, that it seasons the House of Peers with the piquancy which brain can alone supply, and urges talent to exertion with the prospect of the highest distinction and fame. But the study and practice of the law, as it is developed in the unhealthy state of this country, can never produce great legislators. The mind is too much narrowed, if not warped, and, accustomed as it is to single duel, can never lead armies and divisions. The brilliant talents of Lord Brougham, so useful to a nation in detail, are no more an exception to this than the stupid ignorance of Lord Eldon, or the narrow-minded and mischievous absurdity, we had well nigh said *brutality*, of Coke.*

* We refer to *Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chief Justices."* "He," Lord Coke, says the *Times*, in a critique upon this work, "had a sublime contempt for science and literature of every kind. Upon the title-page of '*his copy*,' of the *Novum Organum* presented to him by the author, he wrote—

' It deserves not to be made in schooles,
But to be freighted in the *Ship of Fools*.'

Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, according to him, were *vagrants*, deserv-

However, it is certain, that talent, trade, money, policy, or even a genius for party and intrigue, combined with fluency of speech, have each severally raised men to the Peerage of Great Britain. This being the case, we cannot see, why such a distinction should be refused to Canada, either in the person of her original families, or those who are disposed, upon the prospects held out and developed by our scheme, to go out there now and become English Canadians. Nay, we doubt not, but that many ready-made lords, baronets, and honourables, would at once embark their names and fortunes upon this sea of enterprize, were the Railroad once laid down, and had the *Bill for the Incorporation of Canada with Great Britain* once received the Royal signature. It is certain that our scheme of Canadian fusion will not introduce men into the British House of Commons so objectionable, as many that have had seats there, since the reformed Parliament. The title of M.P. has been used as a street advertisement to shawls and stockings. It has illustrated the "selling-off" principle. It has been chairman to railways, and not added honour, or honesty, to the wildest speculation. It has become no more, virtually, respectable, than a hatchment, or a butler. We think, however, of adding to, not diminishing, the solid attributes, which ought to distinguish members of the British House of Commons, which has been latterly, in some instances, as much debased, as was the Temple of the Jews in the dawn of the Christian era.

ing of the stocks; poetry was foolishness; law, politics, and *money-making*, the soul occupations of a masculine and vigorous mind." But, "for a profound knowledge of the common law of England," says his biographer, "he stands unrivalled."

We can easily imagine, that many men distasteful to the British House of Commons were introduced by the union with Ireland. The peculiar position of their country made the feelings of the early Irish Members irritable. Their manners were more vehement and warm : their fluency extraordinary : their assumption not small : their modesty not great. They had a tendency to "go out" as much as to divide, and were possessed of a "damnable iteration" about the wrongs of Ireland. All this has not even yet quite vanished from their leaven ; but we can point out much talent and most admirable qualities amongst the Irish members of the House. The Scotch have given a leaven of finance and prudence in detail : the Irish infuse life and spirit into that vast stagnation of words, and their oratory, at its lowest appreciable value, is frequently useful to keep the Speaker of the Commons awake. The introduction of Canadians into the House will hurt no feelings, or prejudices. They will arrive there with dignity and decorum. They will represent a vast stake and a mighty country—a wilderness of resource and a present waste of treasure, which will become invaluable. Away, then, in this age of liberality, with petty distinctions and paltry jealousies. Away with the *parvenu* jealousy of the man who would object to a Canadian Baronet ; whilst his own device, supplied only from one generation, should be

" Three spinning jennies rampant, cotton ' or, ' "

Away, too, with the blind pride of patrician stupidity, which reminds one of Dickens' Tavern-keeper during the Lord George Gordon riots, who, when he saw his

own chair, his village sanctum, invaded by one of the mob, and his oracular voice despised amid the pillage, became imbecile, and was carried to the grave that day twelvemonth. We propose, be it remembered, to repair the constitution and buckler the aristocracy. We acknowledge the necessity of classes, and confess democracy to have been a dream of our boyhood.*

* It must be strongly borne in mind, that we separate entirely, in our view of the events which have passed lately in Europe, the struggles of Freedom in enslaved countries and dependencies from the vagaries of "false Revolution." We sympathize both with Italy and Hungary. We admire Kossuth and Mazzini; but regard with horror men like La Flotte, Eugène Sue, Louis Blanc, and the votaries of the Red Republic. We know what papal Italy is and was; while romance has thrown a veil of interest around the patriotism of Hungary. But we loathe the mere ferment of mud, and believe that an essential vulgarity pervades abstract Democracy, which only displays itself in hatred of all that is above it and in the most greedy avarice and egotism. We believe that twenty-five francs per diem has a wonderful effect upon the French Chamber of Deputies in tranquillizing their ideas of change. We look upon the late Revolution in France as the most unnecessary act that ever disturbed a nation. It was an earthquake at half price in the minor theatre of rebellion, and was the cheapest investment ever made in social confusion. We deem indeed—

" Their boasted flag a blood-stained rag :
Their Liberty a jest !"

It is remarkable, that amongst all this parade of French republicanism, it has committed acts, which the tyranny of Russia would not have dared to sanction, at the expense of the real liberties of Europe. Is it not then necessary to disconnect these two principles; as unlike, as our generally received notions of William Tell and Jack Cade? At the same time we think that the constitutional liberties of a country should rally all her best and noblest sons around her; we consider with *Burke*, "that he feels no ennobling principles in his own heart, who wishes to level all the artificial institutes, which have been adopted for giving

The passing events of Europe have all tended to strengthen our later conviction. But, whilst we are not carried away by Utopian theories of communism, we are also independent of the narrow prejudices of rank. Merit and talent should command respect, and utility be judged worthy of "supporters." Birth, combined with these, is resistless, and, without them, is a mere transmission of moral scrofula. But we are inclined, at the present moment, to give a high meed of praise to a great portion of the aristocracy of England. We see men, who have every excuse to be indolent, active and industrious. The very mistakes made by some of them are meritorious. They endeavour to interest themselves in the welfare of their country and mankind, and the speeches in the House of Lords are to our mind, of late, superior in the higher qualities of talent and soundness to those delivered in the House of Commons. Therefore, from this class, generally, we expect the approval of our designs, as well as their aid and assistance.

We think, then, that three classes might furnish a Canadian Aristocracy and Parliament, to represent the interests of Canada in the Imperial Parliament of the "Saxon Empire" of Great Britain. These are, the original English families, the original French families, and the most distinguished amongst the body of emigrants, who will leave this country for Canada, upon her incorporation. With regard to the two former classes of English and French, one of the great curses of Canada has hitherto been their hostility to each other.

body to opinion and permanence to future esteem." The last revolution in France has exercised a double agency towards the destruction of civil rights and freedom.

This has hitherto in every shape been fostered by our mode of internal government ; whilst neither educational nor any other schemes have in any way tended to dispel it. We refer again to Lord Durham's invaluable report for the truth of this. Were such measures to be adopted, as reason would dictate, in the amalgamation of a small corner of a colony with a great country, all French nationalities would vanish, leaving only the dignified virtues of simplicity behind, as the Dutch peculiarities have passed away from New York, or the foreign distinctive characteristics from Louisiana. The United States were composed of different races ; but an American nationality was soon adopted, when the " highest prizes of federal ambition " were offered alike to all. This is the sense of the arguments used by Lord Durham in proposing a General Legislative Union for our North American Provinces, upon the principle that unity of interest is strength. We go a step or two further, it is true ; but the same facts, arguments and deductions hold good for both.

We are disposed to diverge, for one moment, to mention an opinion of the above nobleman and his able coadjutors. He says, that the state of our colonial society is adverse to the principle of a dominant Church. This goes hand in hand with our ideas of Church reform. We do not think that the Canadians would object to our idea of an Established Church, founded upon the doctrines of primitive Christianity, which is indeed, in the original acceptation of the term, *Catholic* ; but we think, that the interregnum in the reign of Church influence, occasioned by carrying out our designs in this respect, would at once simplify and make easier our general scheme. We cannot forbear from reserv-

ing for quotation in our APPENDIX, the whole of this passage from Lord Durham's Report.

One thing is certain, viz. : that in any case, justice and common sense alike demand that Clergy reserves should be done away with. No censure that we can pass can sufficiently stigmatize the folly of this proceeding, which marks the ground upon which emigrants must settle with the black squares of despondency, and makes the whole country one vast chess-board, upon which Folly plays her dull and endless game with Stagnation.*

We are now about to submit our ideas on the question, which will naturally arise, as to how this incorporation is to be carried into effect. It will be asked, what amount of representation is intended to be accorded to our North American Colonies, and in what shape? Are the Canadians—or, rather, we should say, the Canadian States, including all our possessions in North America, from Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland, to the unapportioned wilderness of the Hudson's Bay Company—to be gifted with a separate

* For facts upon the Crown and Clergy reserves, *vide* Gourlay, *passim*. See also the Appendix to "Report on the Affairs of Lower Canada," where it is stated, "that the practice of making Crown and Clergy reserves, and thus withholding from settlement two-sevenths of every township, imposed upon the proprietor of the remaining land so much additional expense for which he could never expect any return." Road-making, and consequently a market, became impossible, and the reserves were "carefully disposed in such a manner as to separate most completely the actual settlers, and thus to obstruct in the greatest possible degree the progress of settlement." This does not now apply to those Crown reserves, which were virtually abandoned when the system of sale took place. But it does still with reference to the Clergy. We refer also to "Three Years' Residence in Canada," by J. R. Preston, 1840, for the subject of Land Grants: a few pages of which we shall hereafter, probably, subjoin.

Legislative body of their own, to enact laws—merely leaving the executive in the hands of the British Crown, or are they to have a local Parliament, and an elective imperial representation in England, or are they merely to send Members to the British House of Commons and Chamber of Peers? We intend to reason on behalf of the latter proposition alone; since it is only by that means, that we can conceive a perfect and unreserved incorporation can take place. But in the legal and executive administration we would anticipate the reforms that are gradually forcing themselves upon us here; and framing a code of laws and a system of administration of justice with the most subtle nicety, admitting of simple design, we would set an example to ourselves, and herald the perfection of our own improvement.

Were Canada to have a separate and distinct Parliament, she must continue a distinct State. With regard to the policy of England towards the world, and the world towards England, she would be, at once, useless and dangerous. If she possessed a legislative body to approve measures to be urged by elected representatives in the imperial houses, or by deputies, the system would be too slow and cumbrous, and liable to continual errors, misapprehensions, and mistake. She must thereby either possess an undue, or not sufficient, weight; nor would such an arrangement tend to sufficiently Anglicise the North American States—a consummation which cannot be too devoutly desired. It is true, that, in the commencement, a sufficient body could not be created to obtain a fair amount of representation for Canada. Perhaps it would not be desirous, at first, to do so. The process of grafting is slow, and the young branch must first bear fruit, before removing

the supporters ; but a scale of representation would easily suit itself to the increase of population and importance, which would result.

We have already adverted to distance as by no means so striking a feature, since the introduction of steam. The great and almost only evil to be anticipated would be absenteeism ; and, against that, it is our intention to provide. Great difficulties must be met by great restrictions. We do not wish, certainly, to copy the restrictive policy of Russia, in this respect, with regard to foreign travel ; but we think a scheme of fines and taxation might be made to answer. We should enforce a residence of six months in the year upon all Canadian peers, and other titular dignitaries, except for such as should be actually sitting in the British House of Representatives, and such as should be exempted by a special proviso, granted by Government for a special purpose. We think it a great pity, that some such condition was not imposed upon Irish landlords, which, in a few years, would have obviated the necessity of its own existence, having taught the superior advantages of residence by custom, and the preference of habit.

It is impossible to take any other than a broad view of the question of Canadian legislation at present. We are not prepared for attack upon single and minute points, and must deprecate their infliction as injurious to a scheme, which has this advantage over the measures, which, of late, generally find favour as the subject of Parliamentary and newspaper argument—that it has in view the solid interests of Great Britain. We propose, then, that a peerage be at once established in North America, and that this be done by dividing the country into departments as much as possible mapped

out according to their several amounts of Anglo-Saxon population. Thus, a department might exist a thousand miles across, which should have but one representative. In process of time a census of its population might entitle it to two, then three, and so on ; and thus the country would rapidly acquire a fair proportion of representation.

It may, however, be urged, that the mighty population of such a territory would, in time, out-vie and exceed the representatives of Great Britain. To this we reply, that it is sufficient to legislate for centuries, not cycles of time, and we think that we, at any rate, who *do* presume to think at all of posterity, in opposition to the style of the age, may escape the charge of expediency. Let us imagine, in the first instance, that twenty-four peers were created. Of these, let half be elected by their own body to sit in the British Upper House. In three or five years, we would add twelve more to the main body, and, in case of a vacancy by extinction, the Crown might instantly fill up the gap. Thus, in three or five years eighteen would sit in the Imperial House of Lords, and in six or ten years the number might still be increased. We propose that those who have interested themselves in Canadian affairs, and who should express a willingness to settle in that country, might have large grants of land annexed to their patents of nobility ; and, especially, late governor-generals, whose governments have been popular, might be tempted with still higher honours to settle in this land of promise. Above all, it would be an excellent opportunity for rewarding any particular instances of loyalty during the late rebellion. We confess that, however startling it may be, we can see nothing impossible, or even difficult,

in this. At any rate, it is the only plan which can, for any length of time, retain CANADA. Earl Grey thinks* that a legislative union would have preserved to us the fealty of the United States. We do not think so, permanently; but we conceive that an incorporation founded upon a legislative union would have done so, as it may now preserve Canada.†

* *Vide* Speech in the House of Lords, May 31.

† We cannot forbear quoting the following passage from Lord Durham's Report, with regard to a legislative union of the Canadas :—
"No large community of free and intelligent men will long feel contented with a political system which places them, because it places their country, in a position of inferiority to their neighbours. The colonist of Great Britain is linked, it is true, to a mighty empire, and the glories of its history, the visible signs of its present power" (p 1850), "and the civilization of its people, are calculated to raise and gratify his national pride. But he feels also that his link to that empire is one of remote dependence; he catches but passing and inadequate glimpses of its power and prosperity; he knows that in its government he and his country have no voice. While his neighbour on the other side of the frontier assumes importance from the notion that his vote exercises some influence on the councils, and that he himself has some share in the onward progress of a mighty nation, the colonist feels the deadening influence of the narrow and subordinate community to which he belongs. In his own, and in the surrounding colonies, he finds petty objects occupying petty, stationary, and divided societies; and it is only when the chances of an uncertain and tardy communication bring intelligence of what has passed a month before on the other side of the Atlantic that he is reminded of the empire with which he is connected. But the influence of the United States surrounds him on every side and is for ever present. It extends itself as population augments and intercourse increases; it penetrates every portion of the Continent into which the restless spirit of American speculation impels the settler or the trader; it is felt in all the transactions of commerce, from the important operations of the monetary system down to the minor details of ordinary traffic; it stamps on all the habits and opinions of the surrounding countries the common characteristics of the thoughts, feelings, and customs of the American people." The sagacity of Adam Smith traced certain causes for the alienation of the United

We come now to the members of the House of Commons. Considering the distance which does exist, we think that a double number of these should also be elected, to prevent the inconvenience of separate elections during the continuance of Parliament, one half of their number to be sent to Great Britain; the rest to remain in abeyance till a new Parliament, as a reserve corps, from which members might be elected to fill up vacancies as they occurred. Any member of such reserve corps, after being chosen by his constituents on three several occasions, would be qualified to supply a vacancy in the Imperial Parliament, without further election.

The constituencies which should return members of Parliament should consist at first as far as possible of the populations of the various departments which should provide peers. These might each send two members, or in some instances only one, and in others four.

Again, some districts which might give name and status to a peer might be totally unfit to return a member of Parliament: and so also the more populous departments and towns, such as Quebec, might return as many as five or six members. It should be considered necessary, under pain of forfeiture of seat, that every member should visit Canada during his parliamentary career, for a period of at least one month. In case of such forfeiture his place would be immediately filled up, as we have pointed out, and thus the check would be placed in the hands of rivals emulous of distinguishing themselves

States. These must be removed from Canada. Above all, according to him, we must provide a field for ambition. We must offer something better than what he calls "the petty prizes of the paltry raffle of colonial faction."

in the debates of the mother country for the benefit of their own land. A preference might be given to Canadian immediately after Government Bills, before the usual routine of business, in consideration of the greater distance of this part of the United Kingdom. It will appear at first difficult to imagine members coming from distant inland constituencies in Canada and returning each year, as has been proposed ; but the magic word "Railway" again comes to our aid. It must be remembered, that the chief internal population will spread from each side of the line and be ramified in process of time by branches from the main artery or trunk. We expect that a great town soon rivalling Quebec in extent will spring up on that most perfect site, which the reader will observe, on consulting a map of North America, half-way between Halifax and Vancouver's Island, between Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, on the neck of land north of Fort Garry, to which reference has before been made, and which we already, with eager enthusiasm, christen by the name of "Victoria ;" as a more auspicious object than the antipodean settlement at present bearing that name, for which anxious legislators are at present labouring to create a separate constitution (*Vide* Lord Montague's amendment to the Australian Colonies Government Bill). Another town would speedily attain commercial importance from its shipping interests at Vancouver's Island to the south of Fort Langley ; whilst Halifax would at once rival Liverpool in its rapid development. If this be termed chimerical, let us turn to the crotchets which occupy our English members ; and when we see California, in her present state, quoted in the House of Lords by a distinguished member and late Chancellor of the Exchequer, as an example of an infant

state affording material for a double legislature, let us cease to invoke patience, or parade modesty, when we deal with wholesale interests, with sweeping clauses, and gigantic measures, build towns and cities, equip fleets, lay down and complete a line of railroad, create supplies, and add to the Imperial Parliament of England.

There is an objection which may be made as to the number of members in the Imperial House, which already extends to between six and seven hundred individuals. In time it may be urged this modern Wittenagemote would number a thousand senators, which would be cumbrous, and hostile to the transaction of business. But we think that the number of British members will bear reduction of a fourth or fifth, to make way for the new representatives. There are already too many members in the House, in our opinion, for the purposes of deliberative wisdom. Let it be observed distinctly, that, considering their expensive residence in England, and their natural neglect of private interests, we propose to attach salaries to the legislative duties of Canadian members. This, we think, will in every instance produce a beneficial effect. A qualification of domiciliary residence will alone be necessary, for the first few years of Canadian representation, for voters; or, in a country where land is so easily held and obtained, a land qualification not calculated in any degree as to value, but as to mere extent, would suffice. In the townships, however, the first qualification must hold good, and therefore a double interest might be created—that of land and residence.

We now come to a most important consideration, which is the difficulty of local government in an Imperial House. How will you instruct English members as to Canadian local affairs? How will you direct municipal

matters at this distance, and with such a probable amount of ignorance, indifference, obstinacy, or prejudice, as you will have to contend with in Great Britain? We confess that this will be found the chief difficulty; but we think it less important than the objections which offer themselves to the working of local Parliaments in connexion with Imperial. We will therefore defend our plan, as best we may, and offer such suggestions as occur, to overcome the difficulty. We recommend that a certain yearly revenue be set aside for the purposes of Public Works and Education, to be entrusted to a Committee or Congress of Management, elected every five years, in precisely the same way as the members of Parliament, consisting of, at least, fifty members, who shall publish monthly reports in full, and that they shall meet at three central points in turn, which shall consist of such towns as Quebec and Montreal, and that ten of these members shall consist of engineering officers, and that they shall institute a College of Design and Improvement of the highest class, and organize a body of intelligent officers for the purposes of observation and report. They shall meet and discuss and pass bills, and such supplies as shall be required over and above the yearly revenue at their disposal shall be presented to the Imperial Houses of Parliament by Canadian or English members in the usual routine of business, with this distinction, that they shall be treated as Government Bills, to avoid loss of time, or obscurity; by which they might be neglected, or postponed, or smuggled, like some small local matters in the United Kingdom, by the agency and collusion of influential members. We do not, however, presume to do otherwise than suggest the number of this Committee of Management, which might be at

once connected with the first great enterprize and object, viz. the *Atlantic and Pacific Junction Line*. In this way, we conceive that we bridge over a great little difficulty, that is, a great difficulty made up of a variety of points, some small and others great. For it is impossible to conceive that such matters as roads, canals, public buildings, railways, bridges, &c., can meet with a proper and fit and ready attention at the hands of men who may be ignorant of the local affairs of the country they are intended to benefit, at a distance from the scene of operations, or immersed in other matters ; such as the policy of Europe and internal affairs, whether relating to matters of vital moment, or the delivery of letters by post on Sunday.

With regard to the Church, we have already expressed our opinion sufficiently upon that point. To force *any* Church establishment upon this young country, split up as it is into all creeds and opinions on this point, would be as illiberal, as fatal. Let the voluntary system prevail, till the sense of the nation declare its preponderance of faith; and, in the name of true Religion, let us do no violence to the name of Christ by forcing the bitter ecclesiastical pill down the throats of those who are willing to emancipate themselves from the thralldom of zeal, the violence of schism, and the mercenary dogma of custom, and who would otherwise possess the glorious privilege of re-attaining the primitive simplicity of early Christianity in the pure air of an unsophisticated country. The opinion before referred to, which will be found quoted in our APPENDIX, will bear us out most strongly in this respect. With regard to the Laws and Institutions of this new branch of the British Empire, we consider it a glorious opportunity for framing a Code, which shall include the best attributes of both French and English

law. This will be at once pleasing to the French and English Canadians. The question of Trial by Jury we leave for consideration. We should like to see the working of a circuit of twelve Judges, with a power of appeal to a Court of Cassation from four, that is two-thirds, in any but minor cases, combined with the present Grand Jury system. Thus the system of Petty Juries, which in our opinion is a next to useless form appended to the decision of a single Judge, would be done away with. We should also like to see an examination of prisoners allowed, under the control of the Court; for which plan we have always had a preference and a longing. It is not likely that we should wish to force upon a young country our monster growth of practice, formed on contending precedents termed Chancery, nor to overwhelm her with all the subtle science, which after so many years has contrived to construct a labyrinth for justice, where we have merely the satisfaction of knowing that she may be hidden, after we have so entangled the clue that we can never entirely get at, or find her. Under these circumstances we think Canada will stand possessed of peculiar privileges: for she will have the benefit of mature experience; since all the legal wisdom of a great country will be brought to bear upon the framing of her institutions—thus avoiding the slow growth of accidental error, and the mistakes which time, change, and custom, have warped from original intention.

It will doubtless be urged, who would confer upon a lazy, talkative British Parliament the petty administration of a distant country? But we must not forget that Canadian interests will be defended, and Canadian benefits sought, by her own active, partial representation.

en passant, and leave it for consideration in high quarters. It might however be vested in the PRINCE CONSORT, and, in his default, in the heir-apparent to the English throne. The former would, at this moment, possess a singular felicity. We have a QUEEN, whose disposition to visit all parts of her dominions, and whose predilections for the sea so befitting her Island throne, and the glories of her naval sceptre, might in this respect be attended with the most gratifying consequence. We are given to understand that she is about to visit Gibraltar, and possibly may extend her regal course to her possessions in the Mediterranean. Why not transmit to history the story of a voyage replete with nobler charms and higher interests? Why not, in the centre of a fleet of imposing grandeur, better thus employed than in alarming the paltry Greek, or coasting round Sardinia, cross the Atlantic Ocean with the daring of her queen-like character, and be welcomed on the shores of the western world by two millions of loyal subjects and a devoted people? Why not gaze on the unparalleled magnificence of Canadian scenery, as she has loved to inhale the fresh breezes of Scotland, and visit mountain, cave and glen in the remoter parts of her British dominions? Why not glide over the noble lakes of Canada, and be received with the acclamations of thousands on the martial heights of Quebec? This would be a stroke of policy worth recording: a voyage to be related in future ages: a heroic and Elizabethan deed! Such a visit would of itself alone strengthen our hold on the affections of the Canadian people. It would ensure years of obedience and loyalty. It would bring them home in mind to England. It would awaken their recollection of their origin, and give body

and reality to their connexion with the mother country. But, with regard to our plan and projects, it would be of miraculous effect ; for it would turn the attention of England to North America, and thus exercise a reciprocal beneficial influence.

Let us hope that such an effect may be produced, founded upon the event we have portrayed with patriotic enthusiasm, and that our plans may meet the approbation of practical and philosophical legislators : let us trust to see Canada brought home to England, and the spirit and body of England kindly fused into the future national existence of Canada : let us see the Railway Line adopted, our scheme of Incorporation carried out ; together with the reform of abuses, the death of cruel and overpowering taxation, and a patient economy here : let us behold the Church rebuked and chastened : the debt decreased, and the army and navy strengthened, and we shall not live to watch with vain regret the ruin and distress of the country which has given us birth : to mourn over our decayed glories : to weep at foreign insolence, and curse in vain that arid policy, that dishonest carelessness, that shallow ignorance, that mean system of artifice, expediency, and infinitesimal smallness of legislation, which is fast hurrying and may continue to hurry us to the fatal abyss of ruined nations and of extinct and departed glory. We shall not live to see our Colonies lost to us, and the world bitterly dictating to the unarmed countrymen of Cobden : we shall not behold the appanage of those young princes, who, we hope, will grow up with endearing links to bind the people of this and other lands in a domestic and national union, lost to them ; as the kingdom of France has been lost to the progeny of a late dethroned king. We shall live to see them inherit a Roman sway

and be the young pillars of a mighty future dynasty bearing the name and nationality, as well as being heir to the character and fame, of Britons and GREAT BRITAIN. Let our proposed wreath be then entwined, and the INCORPORATION OF CANADA lay the splendid foundation of the REDEMPTION of GREAT BRITAIN !

GENERAL APPENDIX.

GENERAL APPENDIX.

I.

SCHEMES OF REFORM AND INCOMES OF THE CLERGY.

It is one of the most difficult tasks to ascertain the property of the clergy of the Established Church of England. When we find that the ecclesiastical revenues amount to about £7,000,000 per annum alone, independent of lay property, and that the clergy hold, almost exclusively, the professorships, fellowships, tutorships, and masterships, of the Universities, and the public schools—their revenues and patronage may truly be considered to exceed those of any other corporate establishment on the face of the earth. Admitting that the yearly sum of £7,000,000 is the undoubted property of the Church, and leaving all other items of patronage without calculation, let us see how that vast sum might be more appropriately, not to say more religiously, distributed. Being the Church of the rich, we are desirous to keep it rich and independent; and instead of £7,000,000 of money exacted in the name of “tithe,” let the Establishment be placed on a reasonable and popular foundation—something approaching to the following:—

2 Archbishops, at £5,000 per annum, each,	£10,000
24 Bishops, at £2,000	48,000
16,000 Priests, at £200	3,200,000
	<hr/>
	£3,258,000
	<hr/>

As it is clear that the Church, having placed itself under the wing of the State, depends solely upon fiscal government, we propose that the State should secure the above sum at the least to the Establishment: to be diminished or increased, as the efficiency of the Reformed Church may prove itself greater, or smaller.

We have given this idea in most general terms. We do not know the precise number of the clergy any more than their precise revenues, which probably amount directly to £10,000,000, and indirectly to much more. But we think that their ministry should be apportioned to districts in respect to population. In a thinly populated country, it is true that distance may be also a consideration; but this would be an exception. We are not prepared to state how many clergymen are necessary to fulfil the duties of the Established Church; but we think that a computation might be made so that one clergyman should generally suffice for 800 persons. Giving 1,000 persons to one pastor, and assuming that there are 10,000,000 of the Established Church, which there are not, we should require 10,000 clergymen, whose salaries, at £200 per annum, would be £2,000,000.

Every man would thus be obliged to fulfil his ministry. We see no necessity for the distinctions of rector, vicar, or curate; but would have all ministers, or priests, alike; with the exception of the bishops. We do not meddle with doctrines or forms; but merely reform greedy abuses. A great and simple Church would thus be created. Whilst we think it wrong in principle, we do not attempt at present to interfere with the fact of bishops sitting in the House of Lords; although it is a secular infringement upon their sacred office, better done away with.

II.

STATE OF SOCIETY ADVERSE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF A DOMINANT CHURCH.

The following is the opinion with regard to Church establishment in Canada, contained in the Report of Her Majesty's High Commissioner, 1839.

I am bound, indeed, to state that there is a degree of feeling, and an unanimity of opinion, on the question of ecclesiastical establishments over the northern part of the continent of America, which it will be prudent not to overlook in the settlement of this question. The superiority of what is called the "voluntary principle" is a question on which I may almost say that there is no difference of opinion in the United States; and it cannot be denied that on this, as on other points, the tone of thought prevalent in the Union has exerted a very considerable influence over the neighbouring provinces. Similar circumstances, too, have had the effect of accustoming the people of both countries to regard this question in a very different light from that in which it appears in the Old World; and the nature of the question is, indeed, entirely different in old and new countries. The apparent right which time and custom give to the maintenance of an ancient and respected institution cannot exist in a recently-settled country, in which everything is new; and in the establishment of a dominant Church there is a creation of exclusive privileges in favour of one out of many religious denominations, and that composing a small minority, at the expense, not merely of the majority, but of many as large minorities. The Church, too, for which alone it is proposed that the State should provide, is a Church which, being that of the wealthy, can best provide for itself, and has the fewest poor to supply with gratuitous religious instruction. Another consideration,

which distinguishes the grounds on which such a question must be decided in old and new countries, is, that the state of society in the latter is not susceptible of such an organization as is necessary for the efficiency of any Church establishment of which I know, more especially of one so constituted as the Established Church of England; for the essence of the establishment is its parochial clergy. The services of a parochial clergy are almost inapplicable to a colony, where a constantly varying population is widely scattered over the country. Any clergy there must be rather missionary than parochial.

III.

THE CANTERBURY SETTLEMENT.

The Canterbury Settlement folk state through their chairman, Lord Lyttelton, that the district in trust for them is considerably more than two millions of acres, and that they have placed on it a value of £3 an acre. Of this only one-sixth goes to the New Zealand Company, and one-sixth to defray expenses (under whose control? we ask). One-third is to be expended on the actual emigration (that is, the price of £1, which is the largest ever demanded by the Government in Australia, is really to be devoted to the purposes of emigrants out of the whole £3.) The *privileged* purchaser is, however, we are assured, to be allowed to take out labourers. The remaining *third*, not a *tenth*, is to form a Church! Excellent young lord! why not go yourself beforehand into the wilderness to prepare the way? Pious jobbists! with what modesty have you not formed your plans! But what advantage is this to be to England? So many bees are to be enticed, or deluded, by the vociferations and tin-kettle clangour of a body of cant-mongers, we mean pious enthu-

siasts, into settling in an antipodean bush, there to support so many drones. "This is to be a Church-of-England colony." What a parody we could annex upon the House that Jack Built! It is laughable, but painful, to hear the list of *boons* lavished by pious generosity upon purchasers. "The first purchasers," says Lord Lyttelton, "that is, purchasers in the present year," (this ought to produce a rush to the Canterbury mart,) "shall be entitled to the right of pasturage," (mark, in New Zealand,) "at the rate of 16s. 8d. for 100 acres of land per annum, over *five* times as much as they have purchased." "And now," continues the pious young nobleman, "we propose to give, also, an option of purchasing any part of that land; if it suits the purchaser to do so. *That is looked upon as a considerable boon and advantage.*" O pious impudence of assertion! Then he goes on to privileges with regard to port-towns, or rather *sites* of port-towns; but the wind-up, the climax, the corner-stone of magnanimity, is *what?* A BISHOP!! yes, a *Bishop!* £1,000 a year is what Lord Lyttelton states that we ourselves, that is, he, or the settlement, or both, have named for the endowment of a Bishopric; but he admits that a Bishop can be done for less, say £600 a year—a low figure for the wilderness. Let us leave Lord Lyttelton here. He deserves well of his country. Nature designed a *Stiggins*; but the mould was not rough-cast, and she turned out in this instance a Peer. The mental attributes of some men render them pious and well-meaning ministers of humbug, and we do not think that this religious scion of modern nobility sees far beyond the window of a vestry. However, we do not think ill of him. His mother, we are told, built a church some years ago, without going to New Zealand, out of the proceeds of a bazaar. Probably if his head were examined, there would be discovered a prominence denominating veneration for bishops. However, we have bishops here, and perhaps some small capitalists would rather go to New Zealand in the hope of leaving the type behind with Lord Lyttelton. Let us turn now to a

Mr. Sidney. He thinks that the Canterbury Settlement is too exclusive, and, when he stated so, was hissed. He says £500 is necessary for each man desirous of availing himself of this *boon*. He thinks that £40 or £50 ought to suffice for Emigration. We think so too. He says, "If you want to have the best bone and sinew and stuff, which this country possesses, transplanted, you must not adopt the exclusive system." Do we want the best bone, sinew and stuff of the country to be transplanted to New Zealand? Do we want to bleed England of all that is left of good in her? What are you doing, fatal, foolish philanthropists, if such you are, with your bishops, your church, and your £3 per acre speculation? We will not impute evil to your motives. We feel assured that lords and bishops, and those that invite them to put down their names, have no private interest in any speculation, and, indeed, would not condescend to business, or we might, indeed, suspect those who are concerned in so worthy a design, of dishonourable motives: considering, as we do, the somewhat curious terms of the undertaking. However, this cannot be; and, therefore, discarding the notion of a job altogether, we merely regard the Canterbury Settlement as a plan injurious to England, and productive of no good in itself, which, like other quackeries, will probably end in disappointment, loss, and a bubble. We look upon it as a piece of religious twaddle clothed in realities, selling land at a profit, and providing for bishops, secretaries, committees, boards, and all the hocus-pocus of Societies and Companies. We already see the emigrants returning in disgust, minus a large proportion of their £500, feeling that they might have encamped at less cost, risk, and loss of time, for a year or two, on Hornsey Down, and seen kangaroos and wild Indians for a shilling. The Bishop alone remains to the last with a sinecure and an advanced salary, having taken out a large stock of port-wine and woollen-stockings to secure him from the ague!

Perhaps we are illiberal. We have lately seen our Agape-

money. Why not enjoy a Canterbury Settlement? But we think that it is illiberal of them to compel emigrants, who can afford £500, to subscribe to the 39 articles. Imagine if an Unitarian crept amongst their numbers in the character of a Jonah!

Let it not be imagined that we scoff at religion in these observations. We scoff only at that which casts a doubt upon the purity of the worship dedicated to God. We have never before associated cant with a wilderness. We can admire and sympathize with the stern spirit, which at various times led forth fiery and rugged men from the haunts of mankind into the wilderness, to commune with God after their own hearts. Their errors were those of conscience, and their schism founded on truth. We can understand such men as Hampden, Vane, and Cromwell, designing to go forth where there was no false worship or oppression. We can dwell with sacred enthusiasm on the idea of the sacred rites of religion solemnly blessing the departure of a new colony. If we departed, we should wish, in common with those who, like us, left their native shores with full hearts and humble hopes, to have our departure hallowed, as the sun went down upon the waters of twilight, by the chorus of a holy psalm to Him to whose guidance we entrusted our wanderings. So, at the first dawn of the promised land upon our strained eyesight, we would kneel without hypocrisy to entreat a blessing from Heaven.

But there is something much too worldly and sophisticate in the £500 Canterbury Settlement, with its Bishop, its promoters, and its select guidance. We want to know all about the £3 an acre. We wish to see some benefit to England, and we do not think it pious, religious, or charitable, to strip her of those who can best contribute to her welfare. If it is merely a Church-extension matter, we think that the Church is best off here. The established religion of this country never succeeded in a missionary point of view. The North American Indians were chiefly converted by Moravians. The Church of England is far too respectable and comfortably off

to travel barefoot over the world to convert Chimpanzees and Cannibals. We doubt all but the respectability of the Canterbury Settlement.

IV.

CANADIAN DUTIES UPON ARDENT SPIRITS AND TOBACCO.

Upon the article of whiskey a heavy duty might be imposed most beneficially to the country. The cheapness of spirituous liquors is the ruin of many an otherwise flourishing settler. Every writer upon Canada has, in turn, lamented this fact. Amongst others, Sir Richard H. Bonycastle states as follows: "Canada is a fine place for drunkards. It is their Paradise. Get drunk for a penny, clean straw for nothing. There! Think of whiskey at 10*d.* a gallon, cheaper than water from the New River in London. I have seen an instance of the effect of excessive drinking daily before my door, in the person of a man of respectable family and of excellent talents, who, after habitually indulging with, at least, the moderate quantum of sixty glasses of spirits-and-water a-day (?), now roams the streets, but, strange to say, never touches the cause of his malady. I have seen an Irish labourer on the works take off, at a draught, a tumbler of raw whiskey, made from Indian corn or oats, to refresh himself! This would kill most men unaccustomed to it, but the habitual crowded stomach it only stimulates."—*Vide Canada and the Canadians in 1846*, vol. ii.

A heavy internal duty upon manufactured tobacco: the indiscriminate use of which, we think, productive of both moral and physical evil; acting, as it does, according as the habit of expectoration, or swallowing the saliva, exists, upon either stomach or lungs, might be made productive of a very considerable revenue. It is, undoubtedly, productive of more idleness than any habit we know, and the reflection it begets

so often boasted of, is merely that of apathy, or melaucholy : indifference, or regret. It acts upon generations imperceptibly, like a slow species of opium, and its abuse probably assists in the degeneration of mankind.

V.

DISCUSSIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A memorable debate, West Indian, upon the mixed subjects of slaves, sugar, and protection, has just taken place in the House of Commons, long after we wrote the chapter to which this is intended to refer. Perhaps our observations, upon the subject of superficial legislative talk, have never obtained, and never could obtain, a more full illustration than is afforded by that debate. Honourable members rise up and quote *statistics*, and read tables, one after the other, upon the same subject, but in total contradiction of each other, with a business-like absurdity, that is absolutely at once ludicrous and provoking.

Well might Lord Palmerston sum up by calling the debate a "series of contradictions and curious inconsistencies." Sir E. Buxton, the mover of the question, quotes "statistics" to prove the decline of everything in the West Indian Colonies, and Mr. Wilson answers with "statistics" to prove that they are, on the contrary, flourishing. Then they all quote "statistics;" save one young member, who is patted on the back accordingly by Lord Palmerston ; and so it goes on ; till the question being sufficiently tugged at and twisted, inside and out, the fight of words ends, a division takes place, and Great Britain is left to "carry weight" against the world ; until facts, sterner than mock statistics, present themselves in the shape of shame and ruin, to proclaim to the people, in few and simple words, some unparalleled disaster.

The Parliament has just entered upon its duties in a building of magnificent design, vast extent, and minute and elaborate ornament. What will be the circumstances attending the first deliberations of our legislative assembly in this palace of cumbrous art? We speak anxiously and seriously: for upon these will depend the future stability, nay, existence, of the British empire, and without the spirit of wisdom descend quickly upon them, the splendour of this temple of legislation will be soon shown to be no more in accordance with the real state of the nation, than is the brilliant effect of a gin-palace suitable to the tattered mob that streams into its precincts to satisfy its unnatural cravings, or the door-step of a West-end club-house, discovered to be a genial bed for starvation, misery, and destitution.

VI.

ON LAND GRANTS.

“It cannot be too strongly urged, that the greatest existing drawback to the physical improvement of Canada is the lavish profusion with which extensive grants of waste lands have been made unconditionally to private individuals, and also to endowments. The waste lands in the surveyed parts are comprised under the titles of Crown and Clergy Reserves; lands set apart for educational purposes; and lands belonging to public companies and private individuals. Interposing, as vast tracts of these sections do, between settled districts, and presenting, for the most part, no immediate equivalent for the excessive price that is set upon them, they operate in a twofold sense as direct impediments to improvement—first, by deterring the class of persons most needed, from becoming purchasers; and, secondly, by retarding general progress. To increase the mischief, the residue of

ungranted waste lands, which remained at the disposal of the Crown, has been ceded to the control of the provincial legislature—the last dispensing power to which such a charge should have been entrusted, seeing that a large proportion of its members, being themselves extensive proprietors of waste lands, have an immediate private interest to oppose to the public benefit, in keeping up prices they are not justified in asking, whether as regards the present positive value of the lands in question, or the low and uniform price at which similar purchases may be effected in the United States. As a general principle, it may be taken for granted that no positive alienation of waste lands, in a country requiring progressive settlement, should be permitted, unless for the purpose of actual cultivation; while, further, no positive sale of those lands should take place without a proportion of the proceeds of such sale being appropriated to the promotion of immigration.

“It ill accords with the dignity of the British Government to make the sale of waste lands a source of mere pecuniary profit. Its sole object should be to procure the settlement of the country needing population, and so long as indemnity for the actual expenses incurred in the administration of the land department be obtained, no further pecuniary advantage should be sought.

“About eight years ago (1832) frequent complaints were made by agriculturists residing in the Gore district, of the great scarcity of labourers; and in order to remedy, in some degree, the inconvenience thereby occasioned, the executive Government directed the location of some indigent immigrant families on parts of the reserves. Lots of five acres each were accordingly laid out, and huts erected at the expense of Government, the parties installed in them receiving an assurance that if the land were not required for the purposes for which it was originally set apart, and they conducted themselves with propriety, they would not be disturbed in their locations. Upwards of sixty families were at once thus provided for, who have not only done well for themselves, but

have been of the greatest service to the surrounding neighbourhood. It is obvious that this system possesses many great advantages. In the first place, it gives the labourer an immediate home, and enables him to find employment in his own lot in the intervals of his hired services being in requisition; while, on the other hand, it opens a market to those who stand in need of a labourer's assistance. Two years after the first experiment (in 1834), between fifty and sixty families of the same class, who arrived late in the season, and for whom immediate employment could not be obtained, were located on similar lots; but as there were no settlers who could afford to hire labourers, the parties in question were employed at the public expense in opening roads and clearing lands during the winter months.

"In 1840, it was found that these poor people had done well—all of them being in possession of cattle, and several of them having saved wherewithal to purchase land, which they are now engaged in improving. In fact, in both instances, the people have gone on steadily prospering, and have furnished a hardy, well-affected race of men for the defence of the province. In the whole country, in truth, from five to twenty-five families might thus be advantageously located, were means set apart for the purpose, as they easily might be, under a revised method of conducting the affairs of the whole land department, and a legitimate appropriation of its funds.

"In an interesting volume, published in 1834, entitled 'England and America,' in speaking of the baneful effects of Crown and Clergy Reserved Lands interposing between cultivated allotments, the Author says:—"As flour is an element of bread, so is waste land an element of colonization; but, as flour which has been turned into pie-crust will not make bread, so neither is waste land which has become private property an element of colonization. It is the disposal of waste land in a certain way which is the primary means of colonization; and when the land has been disposed of in another way, the power to dispose of it in the right way no longer exists. Land, to be an element of colonization, must

not only be waste, but it must be public property, liable to be converted into private property for the end in view. In the art of colonization, therefore, the first rule is of a negative kind: it is that the Governments, having the power of waste lands, and seeking to promote the removal of the people, should never throw away any of that power—should never dispose of waste land except for the object in view—except for the removal of the people, and for the greatest progress of colonization. This rule has never been strictly observed by any colonizing government: it had been grossly neglected by all such governments excepting only the United States, which, since they became entirely independent, have been more cautious than any other colonizing government ever was about the disposal of waste lands.”—Preston, *on Canada*, 1840.

VII.

PRESENT SYSTEMS OF EMIGRATION.

The *Morning Advertiser* of March, and several other journals of that month, contain horrifying details of the system on which emigrant ships are sent floating away with their cargoes of expatriated misery. A vessel called the *Indian* was chartered by Irish Guardians. It appears that on this vessel property and life were endangered in the defence of female virtue from desperate assailants. One man, whose name is given (Hill), had his property destroyed in defending the virtue of his wife and daughters. Then come the remarks of the *Adelaide Observer*, stating that no less than ten emigrant ships arriving there were “floating brothels.” The disgusting details given of proceedings on board of the *Aden*, will be alive in the memory of the public. The summary of all this may be thus given:—“Rotten provisions: brutal

surgeons : servile drudgery : disease : corporal punishment : violation : prostitution : and no small chance of, or share in, shipwreck." So much for the *piddling* schemes of emigration.

The Irish girls alluded to above are described in a late debate in the House of Commons as models of virtue, innocence, and propriety, in comparison to the mature matrons from the Paphian bowers of Marylebone and Whitechapel. Being so, they are shipped off, like heifers from Rotterdam, to be drafted into the most depraved spots on the face of the globe ; in the centre of a hemisphere of convicts. This, indeed, is tossing the workhouse sampler to the dogs, to be disfigured and torn in the mud of corruption. Imagine the horrors of attenuated needlewomen, who in all their misery have preserved the delicacy of womanhood, when they find themselves floating out of sight of land unprotected, in the company of monsters, or, when being arrived, they are doomed to take their chance in a wilderness of ruffians, out of sight of a sea wherein to drown themselves. However, it is but a job, carelessly conducted, to get rid of surplus females, and is a sort of *free trade* in Magdalens, conducted without return or reciprocity, on the principles of modern philanthropy.

VIII.

MIGRATION OF UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASSES.

We had intended to devote a chapter of this work particularly to the migration of the upper and middle classes of society ; without which not only no system of emigration can be carried out on a large scale, advantageously to the infant colony, but no return can be anticipated to the mother country. More than this, without such a plan, the absolute evil cannot be got rid of, as we have already illustrated by showing the universality of the distress and confusion pervading all classes of society here—the educated and the un-

educated : the nominally rich and the poor : the professional man and the artisan : the governess and the needlewoman : the peasant and the man of genius : the pauper and the peer. Army and navy are alike filled up ; whilst the ranks of medicine and divinity admit no neophytes, and the courts of law no novices.

The authority of history proves incontestably the necessity of the Exodus of a perfect community, in order to found a distant empire with any chance of success, except that resulting from mere accident. It is only thus that we may hope to plant a flourishing colony far from home, which shall preserve the ancient institutions of the country, whence it emerged. In this peculiar instance, the whole internal and surrounding circumstances of Canada make it doubly imperative that such should be the case, and that, if we wish to preserve her, or to allow her to preserve herself and found a nationality of her own, it is necessary to encourage and necessitate the emigration of all classes hence—the highest, as well as the lowest : the most important as well as the smallest ; the representatives of education and rank ; as well as the scum and refuse, or mere elements of poverty, which we are in the habit of transplanting and pouring from our shores.

Rank, on the other hand, stripped of its privileges, and the divinity which hedges it, must fall into contempt at home. Republicanism and Socialism will rear their hydra heads, and the cruel Upas tree of moral growth spread its baneful influence over all that is left of good, and pious, and just, wholesome and select in the land. Therefore, the decay of rank must also be stopped in this country, and its superfluous members provided for. All must be prepared to go forth alike, and it is for this that we wish to prepare the chosen land, by moral and governmental cultivation, for the reception of those who shall communicate the elements of the British constitution at once to the country we purpose to incorporate and preserve for our own. As a preface to all this, we intended to write a kind of defence for the aristocracy of the realm. We intended to draw a picture of the

evils which oppress and desolate France, and of the inconsistencies, brutalities, and errors which shock us in America. We had determined to write in behalf of a class, which we imagine to have received sufficient chastisement, and to show that it is no longer for the benefit of England to rebuke it further. But, impressed with the idea of our having already transgressed our limits, we reserve this for a future essay, and will not burden the present work with our ideas of the necessity of the continuance of that third class in England, which has hitherto preserved the balance of power between education and ignorance, and wealth and poverty; and proved itself the bulwark of that original constitution which has shone forth so many ages as the most perfect conception ever embodied by man.

In thus labouring under the apparent Quixotism of defending that which was so lately the most powerful body of men in the world; but which is now rapidly withering under the influence of the monied class, combined with the misery of the many, and which is fast declining, together with all old English forms, prejudices, customs, and nationality, before the shallow knowledge of the day, and the eating cancer of discontent and folly—in thus contending for the importance and value of the landed aristocracy of England—we know that we run the gauntlet of misconception, and even derision. But we glory in being the heralds of a necessary reaction and the interpreters of our own deep-felt convictions; and feeling that our motives are conscientious and pure, brave alike the antagonism of dissent, the violence and raving of democracy, the coldness and apathy of those with whom for the moment we side, and finally the sneers of a considerable portion of our fellow countrymen, who neither thinking the one thing or the other, are inclined, without even testing the soundness or reality of their own doctrines, or holding any doctrines at all, to be carried on the popular flood, or vulgar tide of opinion, and are merely content to deride those who express themselves on such a subject warmly.

The purblind sight of such men as these enables them to

grope about equally in darkness and illumination, and to them the light of one age is as good as the light of another. If they have been nurtured in falsehood, a startling enunciation of truth appals them; whilst they embrace a paradox, if it comes sanctioned by the worship of the era in which they live; if surrounding habit sanction their thought they follow to the very slaughter-house of revolution, with the sagacity of a flock of sheep; but the blind resolution of martyrs. We claim the merit of more original thinking, and since we deem that the Constitution of England presents the only palladium of true freedom in the world, amid a thousand abuses and errors, which choke its pillars and foundations with excrescences and dilapidations, and since we feel assured that the aristocratical institutions of England are necessary to preserve that Constitution, we are prepared to defend the aristocracy of rank as well as the aristocracy of talent.

Let not our sentiments be misjudged. We are indifferent as to the abstract principle of birth. That we regard as a fiction, frequently charming, like other things that appeal to the imagination; but still a fiction: though one necessary to human social existence. Thus, we only realize birth in the creation and preservation of classes, ranks, and orders of society, and thence we defend it. Thence it is that we would preserve it from communism, revolution, democracy, and violence; and in order to accomplish our task, would first furnish it with the means to escape the degradation of poverty, the contempt of familiarity, and all the numerous train of evils which, in the shape of anarchy, licence, vulgarity, and socialism, threaten at once with both internal pressure and outward example to ruin and degrade it.

In order to do this, a new field must be opened, and a new term of existence thereby granted to the higher classes of British subjects, as well as a new provision made for the lower, and the finger of observation points at once with hope and warning to the boundless resources, the magnificent territory, and the pure and uncorrupted air of Incorporated Canada and our possessions in North America!

IX.

CAPITAL AND FREE LABOUR.

To induce persons of respectable station, but mediocre means, to settle in Canada, Government might accord land to eligible parties on very moderate terms—so much down, and the residue by instalments payable at a reasonable time ; but under condition that the land, so acquired, should be brought into satisfactory cultivation within a certain specified period, under penalty of forfeiture and ejectment.

Also, in proportion to every assistant labourer, which such proprietor might choose to engage from this country, five acres of land should be accorded gratis, or at a very reduced price, in addition to the land purchased by the principal ; but under condition that such followers should be properly maintained, and that each included in such proviso should be retained, or a substitute found in his stead, till the expiration of a given term. Every facility should be provided for the conveyance of all descriptions of furniture, and effects, at the lowest remunerative prices, to the settlements selected by such free emigrants among the railroad line of divisions before specified. And likewise every means in approved practice for the promotion of general emigration should be encouraged to induce establishments in Canada, and to this end we suggest that joint-stock companies be formed among the people, as at present there are some already operating here. As an encouraging testimony of what even the humblest classes might effect for their own provision in colonial settlement, if but properly directed, let us refer to the late well meant but abortive land-plan, of radical conception, by which the sum of £112,000 was actually raised by voluntary subscription among the veriest indigent. Let us, moreover, point the reader's attention to the joint-stock fund subscribed by the distressed Staffordshire potters to enable associate members, appointed by ballot, to emigrate to the

City of Milwaukee, in Wisconsin, United States. "What city is this?" our reader may inquire, with surprise at the novelty of a name which, from the impromptu existence of the place to which it applies, has never yet, perhaps, reached his knowledge; and we take pleasure in informing him that this Milwaukee is the capital of a flourishing settlement, the original, and we believe principal creation of these self-exiled potters; and their rapid prosperity and increase in this foreign community reflects the greatest discredit upon the patriotism and prudence of the British Government, which permits so many of England's hardy and industrious sons to abandon our connexion for naturalization in a rival country; and that too in a settlement upon the very frontier of our own American lands, superior in every respect to Wisconsin; while yet we leave those very possessions uncultivated and unpeopled. The fact constitutes a political monstrosity.

The following Report connected with this new-born establishment of our poor potters, with which we have just been favoured, will prove more than a volume of argument, the feasibility of our projected line of settlements in the same direction; and the promptitude, almost miraculous, with which opulence and industry could be introduced into the deserts of Western Canada: "In May 1834, Mr. Solomon Juman was the only white settler within the limits of what is now the city of Milwaukee. The following table of census returns, taken since that period, exhibits the rate of increase in the population. 1838, 700; 1840, 1,700; 1842, 2,700; 1846, June 1, 9,655; 1847, December 15, 14,061; August, 1849, estimated 18,000. Equally rapid has been the augmentation in the exports of produce, &c. It was in 1845 when the first shipments of wheat and flour to any extent was made from Milwaukee. The following table shows how this business increases:—1845, 95,500 bushels of wheat, 7,500 barrels of flour. 1846, 213,448 bushels of wheat, 15,756 barrels of flour. 1847, 598,011 bushels of wheat, 34,840 barrels of flour. In 1848, 612,474 bushels of wheat, and in 1849, 1,148,807 bushels of wheat.

Manufactures of the City of Milwaukee during the last

Year.—Description of the Articles manufactured.—Woollen Goods, various kinds, dol. 40,000. Edge tools, dol. 30,900. Foundries, various kinds of machinery, dol. 195,060. Carriages and waggons, dol. 115,500. Sash, blinds and doors, dol. 46,700. Leather, dol. 20,000. Wooden ware and wood-turnings, dol. 87,956. Lumber, dol. 20,000. Cabinet ware, dol. 127,700. Boots and shoes, dol. 75,250. Tin, sheet-iron and copper ware, dol. 114,600. Saddles and harness, dol. 44,000. Soap and candles, dol. 37,000. Burr mill stones, dol. 36,000. Boilers (steam), dol. 20,250. Sails and rigging, dol. 17,000. Ploughs, dol. 4,500. Clothing, dol. 4,500. Potashes, &c., dol. 15,000. Lumber planed and matched by machine, dol. 24,000. Paper, dol. 40,000. Copper and iron smithing, dol. 27,600. Earthenware, dol. 7,500. Brass machinery and turnings, dol. 10,000. Tobacco and cigars, dol. 15,500. Malt liquors, 71,000. Bread and crackers, dol. 27,000. Gun and lock smithing, dol. 9,500. Bookbinding, dol. 8,000. Cooper's ware, dol. 8,500. Brick (10,000,000), dol. 40,000. Shingles, dol. 25,000. Miscellaneous,—such as jewellers, gilders, weavers, pump makers, tool manufacturers, &c., dol. 107,000. Fanning mills and thrashing machines, dol. 25,700.—Total dol. 1,714, 200.

In addition to the above, there are five flour mills, propelled by water power, and one by steam: each one capable of turning out 80 to 100 barrels of flour per day; and consuming in all 7,000 bushels of wheat daily.

IMPORTS.

Tons of Merchandise	16,012	, dol.	3,202,400	00
Barrels of suet	35,000	.	48,750	00
Barrels of bulk furniture	17,000	.	140,000	00
Coal, water lime and plaster	.	.	18,000	00
Fruit (dried and green)	.	.	11,500	00
Lumber, lath, shingle bolts, shingles, and timber	.	.	375,000	00
Miscellaneous	.	.	35,000	00

Total dols. 3,828,650 00

EXPORTS.			
Bushels wheat	1,148,807	dol.	1,044,642 79
Barrels flour	201,942	.	945,088 56
Ditto pork and beef	5,527	.	53,000 00
Tons lead and shot	810	.	53,000 00
Hides	10,281	.	23,188 00
Sundry manufactured articles		.	28,890 00

dols. 2,098,469 35

There are 89 sail of vessels owned in, and sailing out of, port, of which the total tonnage is 5,542. Our stock in steamboats and propellers of 3,000 tons. Making a total tonnage owned in the port 8,542. Sixteen sail of vessels are engaged exclusively in the lumber trade; and the remainder in freighting produce and merchandize. Arrivals during the season of 1848:—Steamboats 498. Propellers 248. Barks and brigs 119. Schooners 511.—Total 1,376.

Here left to their own free and unaided exertion, with the small—*very* small capital, which they alone could command: the whole having its principal origin in scanty subscription—we behold a colony of British poor—now opulent Americans—setting an example to Great Britain and its government, by the foundation of a relieving colony, in the direction we should pursue. The sudden creation of this miraculous city of Milwaukee, and the prodigious rapidity of its trade and prosperity, which we have been at pains to present to our reader's attention in the foregoing tables, prove in detail, how our towns and stations would rise to even speedier affluence, so powerfully stimulated as they would be by their situation on so grand a railroad; with the protection and resource of Great Britain to encourage and promote them at every step. This example, we conceive, forms the most triumphant proof of the excellence of our scheme against every objection prejudice and doubt can oppose, which we could possibly submit to the public; and we will conclude our argument here by observing, that surely British enterprize and industry could effect, with more satis-

faction and zeal, greater miracles for Great Britain in Canada, than they consent to accomplish for America, upon its frontier.

A principal obstacle, amounting to interdiction, to the departure of many poor people for the colonies, consists in the difficulty of hasty conversion of property and effects into money without incurring ruinous sacrifice and loss. To obviate which, we propose that capital be raised, and societies formed all over the country for purchase of all the usual description of property of which persons, inclined to emigrate, have commonly to dispose. This might be valued upon estimate by three competent, and sworn, appraisers employed in this manner: one, named by the seller: a second by the society purchasing; and the third, appointed by Government. Further proposing that only one-half the purchase-money be immediately paid to the seller in this country, and the other half at six months, or upon the arrival of the seller at the place of his destination in Canada; or that land, equal to the value of such property so appraised and sold, be secured to the seller on his arrival at his place of settlement, according as such arrangement might be agreeable.

Vessels, known in the trade under the name of lumber ships, and used for the transport of timber, might be employed at very reasonable charges, to carry out such goods and effects, as poor emigrants might prefer to convey to the place of their destination; and preliminary arrangements might accordingly be made throughout the whole line of communication for the safe and expeditious transmission of all such property. Or should the employment even of such vessels as we have designated entail too much expense, we do not hesitate to suggest that Government shipping, for a service of such public utility and advantage, be commissioned for this duty, instead of being condemned, as so many of them now are, to lie idle at much useless expense.

In fine, let every judicious expedient and exertion be adopted to determine and facilitate a general movement of classes in the direction of Canada.

We now come to the Free-labourers required for the actual and direct execution of the railroad works. And, first, supposing habitations to be already prepared for them, we suggest that these should be hired in numbers equal to the object in view, at a fair rate of wages; proportioned to the price of necessaries in Canada; and by an engagement binding them for the season usually allotted to out door occupation in North America, deducting the value of rations with which they might be supplied at a just valuation. A passage, the very lowest price, might be provided for them, and they should be at liberty to return by the same cheap conveyance to this country at the end of the season, and re-embark for Canada at the ensuing spring, or to remain in the latter country in prospect of re-engagement for the following season. Or they might be encouraged to accept work at the forges, or wood-yards, established at the various sections of each Division of the line of works, should their labour there be required; otherwise to engage in the service of such private settlers as might feel disposed to take them upon hire. Or land, at a very cheap rate, might be allotted to such of them as might possess sufficient money to acquire the purchase. That no dearth of hands would need be apprehended, even should the labour require far greater numbers than we contemplate, is indisputably assured by parliamentary authority; since in addition to some millions of labourers in every department of handicraft, unemployed, and misery-stricken, let us just mention that *there are "600,000 railway labourers in different parts of the country at this actual moment, for whose comfort and means of subsistence no provision is made; and 600,000 hand-loom weavers are dispersed likewise over England, in such a state of distress that the only hope of improving their condition, is, that they should betake themselves to other avocations wherever practicable."* (Slaney, in Parliament.)

To ensure due diligence and exemplary conduct in this class they might be bound, by written articles, strictly to comply, for the time being, to some similar rules and regulations as those imposed upon the body denominated

Civil Fencibles, of whom we have spoken in the body of the work. Their wives and children, who would be permitted to accompany them, should at first be limited in number, and the minority only allowed to follow them after their arrival at the various destinations; so that accommodations for their families might thus be satisfactorily prepared by the men. In the meantime, arrangements should be made under conditional stipulation, that a due proportion of the wages of the married men, whose families would remain in England, should be made payable to their wives in this country, on the system of merchant seamen's pay notes. In addition to the provision preparatorily created by the husbandry imposed upon the first quota of pauper settlers, the abundance of the Canadian markets should further be increased by the supplementary supplies poured in from all parts of the coast and the United States: the back settlements of which would be encouraged to contribute produce to our wants for which at present they have no vent; and an additional stimulus, for the same object, might be communicated to the whole commercial and agricultural industry of Canada, whose capacity, already so prolific, would thus necessarily be superinduced to multiply resource beyond all precedent; while we cannot but calculate that the Pacific would also become a channel of supply; and that the fisheries of the coast, the lakes, and the rivers, as also those of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, the game-frequented forest, and cattle-teeming prairies, our West Indian colonies, and the banks of the Mississippi, Australasia, and even China itself, would all be rendered accessory to the means of cheap and plentiful provision.

In the progress of our task our minds have been necessarily directed to various works bearing in some particulars upon the subject under our pen; but of whose previous existence we had not the remotest suspicion, till we thus found ourselves deeply engaged. Among those who have preceded us with their light, we will again cite the example of Gourlay: a man of singular acumen, in spite of his irregularity and diffuseness; and whose testimony being generally recommended by force of figures, is entitled to the indisputability of mathematical demonstration.

Being in his time as ardently interested in the subject of

those magnificent canals which connect the grand Canadian lakes with the St. Lawrence, as we are now in the project of a railroad across the same country, he proposed to supply the labour they required from England, in the persons of settlers regulated in certain details after a plan bearing some analogy to one part of our own. We give an extract from him on the subject as follows, begging the reader to bear in mind the immense difference in the price of transport and provision, which has occurred in favour of the present time, since the period which the writer contemplated, viz., some thirty years ago. This difference in cost of provision in the gross throughout Canada may be estimated at one-half, and transport thither now at two-thirds less:—

“I have taken,” he says, “the present value of the settled part of Upper Canada to be six million pounds. Suppose the navigation for vessels of 200 tons could be opened from Montreal to Lake Ontario in the course of five years from the present time, and during the same period there were an influx of 20,000 souls annually into the province, pray may we not fairly calculate that £6,000,000 of the territory thus settled, would, by the end of that period, be fully worth three times as much; and that an expenditure of £2,000,000 might very easily be repaid out of the taxation of the province before the end of the year?”

Let us exhibit a jotting of how things might go on; 5,000 able-bodied men could be transported from Britain at the rate of £10 each, and could be at work on the canal by the 1st of June, 1820

Transport of 10,000 women and children supposed to accompany the men	£50,000
Pay of 5,000 men at work from 1st June till 1st Dec. 1820—six months	100,000
Ditto, till 1st April 1821—six months	30,000
Ditto, till Dec. 1821—eight months	180,000
Transport of 5,000 men, with 10,000 women and children, 1821	180,000
Pay of these second year's men from 1st June till 1st Dec. 1821	100,000
Interest and Contingencies	40,000
	<hr/> £600,000

At this period discharge the first year's men, who refund their transport, and have in pocket £10 per man		£100,000
Total expenditure up to 1st Dec. 1821		500,000
Pay of second year's men from Dec. 1st till 1st April 1822		30,000
Ditto till 1st Dec. 1822—eight months		130,000
Transport of third year's men with women and children		100,000
Pay of these men from 1st June till 1st Dec. 1822—six months		100,000
Interest and Contingencies		40,000
		<hr/> £900,000 <hr/>
Deduct refunded by second year's men now dis- charged		100,000
Total expenditure up to 1st Dec. 1822		<hr/> £800,000 <hr/>

"By personal inquiries," he says in a note, "made at the ports of Glasgow, Leith, and Aberdeen, spring 1820, I found £7 was the common charge for a man; but on contract, and after a grand system of emigration was set on foot, the charge would be greatly lowered." Two pounds might now suffice.

"It will serve no purpose," he adds, "to go further with such a sketch. My meaning is really clear; and the practicability is obvious. I suppose the men to contract at home only for the labour of two seasons; and they are above represented as entirely quit of the work at the end of the second season. One half, however, may be supposed to return, and make engagements for labour the third or even fourth summer; so as to give any acquired acceleration to the business. To employ the hands during the four months of the first winter would require a little management; but with this, jobs sufficient could be found while so great an undertaking was on foot. It will be observed that there are never more than 5,000 men to be thus provided for; and being fit by the commencement of the second winter, with a sufficiency of

cash for their present wants, they might either spread themselves over the country in the service of others, or make a beginning in clearing land for themselves. By this time, not only reconciled to the novelty of their situation, but pretty well informed as to the various modes of management, and taught to handle the axe, they would be free of all that gloom and awkwardness which is so heart-breaking to old country people, when they have to go directly into the woods after their arrival in this country."

We have already quoted the pamphlet of a writer in whom we take especial interest from the tone of good feeling, candour, and modesty, which pervades his little production. This is Mr. Hodson, already referred to in the chapter on Ways and Means, in the body of the Work. He has been for ten years, he informs us, a settler in far west Canada, and, fresh in all his experience of the country, has proposed what we would call Labour Homes:—viz. Depôts of 50,000 acres each for pauper emigrants from this country: too credulously believing, we fear, that by mere husbandry alone, without the support of any other correspondent pursuit, such settlements might be rendered altogether self-supporting. But although sceptical on the subject of that Utopian feature of his scheme, the principle itself bears too much affinity to the practical conceptions of Gourlay, and comes too strongly recommended by personal experience for us absolutely to deny its entire possibility. But that the project in principle, modified in method and provision, would work with triumphant success, if adapted as a partial auxiliary in connexion with our own, we are ready to contest against one and against all.

These examples should prove how general has been the attention, directed like our own to various means of relieving England by settlements in Canada; while it is not a little commendatory of our scheme to find persons so practically experienced in the nature and resources of Canada, uniting in opinion that immigration, to effect grand purposes there, should only be conducted upon some methodic system of organized discipline.

Hitherto Government has habitually disposed of Canadian

land with the most lavish prodigality upon persons possessed of very slender claims, indeed, to public bounty ; but oftener upon others who actually had none whatever ; and this in a manner to provoke the displeasure of Canada, and obstruct the extension of settlement. We would propose, therefore, that in the event of such a scheme as ours being prosecuted in effect, that a Board under no less auspices than those of our Queen's most Gracious Majesty herself, and composed of commissioners of the very highest character, be appointed to receive and to inquire into all petitions presented by candidates for Her Majesty's favour, whose claims for grants of lands in Canada might be deemed worthy of Her Majesty's consideration. In this the dignity of rank, as well as of public service, should be acknowledged fully and fairly ; for why should not the distressed noble be considered worthy of succour and protection as well as the distressed citizen ; particularly when the re-adjustment of the social balance so long impaired might thus be happily effected, at no other expense than the distribution of waste lands, which have hitherto been indiscriminately bestowed with reckless profusion upon the *protégés* of temporary officials ? Not that we would advocate full liberty and sanction to alienate national property, without judicious measures, or restrictions.

As all the land along the line of route would necessarily require to be peopled ; while much of it, at the same time, might be of little profit to the proprietor, we propose, in order to avoid partiality and discontent, that the site of each grant be determined by lots drawn among the candidate labourers ; and that he, to whom bad land might thus devolve, should obtain an extension of grant, with permission to receive an assistant from England, supported by public rations ; while the holder should be provided with regular and assured work on the railroad, until the said land should be rendered sufficiently productive ; when both holder and assistant might be permitted either to retain their holding, with an additional allotment in provision for such assistant, or both might be at liberty to dispose of the original grants in exchange for fresh allotments elsewhere.

At present, by the improvident and remiss policy existing

in the absence of some such system of colonization, thousands and tens of thousands of British continue to abandon their country's flag, to people the United States, and swell the ranks of inhabitants in a country against whose power without fresh precautions, we shall presently find it difficult to stand. In repudiating their country, these emigrants do not alone deprive us of their services, but also subtract by this act of licensed desertion, considerable portions of the common treasure; it being calculated that within the last five years the deserters from this country to America have carried with them to the United States a capital of no less than £25,000,000,—an estimate borne out by the fact that among the emigrants comprising the poor passengers alone, on board the *Ocean Monarch*, amounting to 350 persons, the collective funds carried with them were ascertained to be upwards of £10,000.

Let it be observed that 200,000, carrying with them only £10 each (and each emigrant is generally provided with very much more), would lose £2,000,000 to this country. Upwards of two millions of British subjects, at the present rate of departure, will have abandoned us for the American republic, before England is but a few months older. Not the aged, the halt, and the blind; but the very flower of our industry and strength.

The standing army of the United States in 1845 was as follows:—

Regulars, comprising staff officers and all ranks	7,670
Militiamen	1,385,645
Field Officers	13,813
Company Officers	44,938

Now, although the vast extent of territory over which this force extends, the irregular character of its main strength, and the immense deserts which lie between its sphere of muster and our frontier; together with the difficulty of collecting and marching an army so composed, and the next to impossibility of keeping civil military in the field away from their families and pursuits, are considerations not to be despised, especially when taken in connexion with the fact that Canada can on her part show a superior militia of

150,000 as a front; still we think there is much reason to dread our active, desperate, and encroaching neighbours, who look on the whole continent of America as belonging to them by right.

The flush of Mexican conquest, and the formidable increase of French and German military with which American force is daily augmented, have probably communicated a different spirit of confidence and daring to what America has hitherto displayed in her contests with us; while the seditious dissension of some of our Canadian subjects, on the other hand, may have deteriorated, in a very serious degree, that ardent patriotism and attached feeling she has uniformly manifested towards us in the hour of danger. This view alone should necessitate the expediency of augmenting our strength, by an extensive introduction of British-born into these menaced and exposed territories; while yet peace and opportunity afford uninterrupted occasion. For even if Canada should resist the annexation mania, until the event of an European war, no sooner will such a misfortune occupy our hands, than as sure as Lord John Russell is at the head of the British Government, with power to provide against the fatal consequences, England, unable to detach sufficient force for the defence of Canada, will lose her for ever.

How different might it be if our superfluous members, mustered in organized force, were only posted in opportune possession of the ground, encouraged and directed by classes, who compose the customary leaders of our armies, and whose example would continue to foster and preserve the spirit of loyalty and devotion to the British crown. In the meantime, what exercise of extraordinary patronage would accrue to Government by this extension of power in Canada, in the creation of tribunals, magistracies, clerical appointments, offices and commands; while the simple service of a British railroad across Canada would, of itself, provide for thousands of respectable persons, of all classes, who now endanger our public peace in dissatisfaction engendered by inoccupation and want.

To form some conception of the numbers, for which the creation of such a resource would provide, we beg to present

our readers with the following extract of a parliamentary return, showing the number and description of persons employed in our home railways on the 30th of June 1849.

“The total number employed on railways, open and unopen, was 159,784. On open lines there were 55,968 persons employed; and on railways not open to traffic, there were 103,816, of which number 83,052 were labourers. On the open lines there were 156 secretaries and managers; 32 treasurers; 107 engineers; 314 superintendents; 120 storekeepers; 131 accountants and cashiers; 490 inspectors and time-keepers; 1,800 station masters; 103 draughtsmen; 4,021 clerks; 709 foremen; 1,839 engine-drivers; 1,871 assistant engine-drivers and firemen; 1,631 guards and breaksmen; 1,540 switchmen; 1,361 gate-keepers; 1,508 policemen or watchmen; 8,238 porters and messengers; 5,508 platelayers; 10,809 artificers; 14,028 labourers; and 144 miscellaneous employments; making a total of 55,968. The total length of railways open on the 30th of June, was 5,447 miles 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ chains. Length of railway in the course of construction, 1,504 miles 20 chains; and 5,132 miles neither open, nor in course of construction of the 30th of June. The result shows that, on the 30th of June, the length of railways authorized to be used for the conveyance of passengers, was 5,132 miles and 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ chains; and the number of persons employed was 159,784.”

What is the length of our proposed railroad to this? With an opportunity of providing for such a multitude as is included in the foregoing list, and ten times their number immediately connected in labour with them—all exercising their activities for the enrichment of this country; while agriculture and the arts would flourish in their footsteps; whilst prosperous millions would reap happiness and independence in exchange for the mortifications and misery they are doomed to endure in their native home—with such an opportunity, we say, did she REJECT it! England would deserve the most exemplary punishment of nations. Yes, she would merit a condign destiny not less cruel than the fate of Spain, her predecessor in universal ascendancy, who, rejecting her proper interests, and in-

sensible of her internal decay, misgoverned her people in the false show of external splendour, and turned a deaf ear to their complaints. But she soon saw them, in the midst of patrician arrogance and pomp, emulated by the pride and luxury of the middle classes, sink under the intolerant insolence and bigotry of a bloated church: saw them compromised and infected by commercial speculations and monopolies: saw them defied and beaten by younger powers; until the whole nation, being first gradually enervated by corruption and plunged in general ruin, aggravated by civil war upon civil war, was stripped of all her magnificent colonies and stupendous fleets; while her model army dwindled to a military force scarce strong enough to garrison her frontiers: her aristocracy sunk into the dust; and her credit, her glory, and her existence, as a leading nation, departed, probably not to return for centuries and ages, if *ever!*

X.

CHINA, COREA AND JAPAN.

Having submitted our views on Canada, as summarily as strict justice to the subject would admit, without dwelling upon details which we intend to elaborate in another publication, more replete with particulars, and more deliberately matured, let us invite our reader to accompany us across the Pacific, to those countries immediately connected with the grand scheme of cosmopolitan intercourse and traffic to which our project of a railroad, from sea to sea over the breadth of Canada, is but an introduction and partial feature—a means to an end. We will not arrest attention in our progress to the insular nations scattered, like stars, over the Pacific oceans, that wait but the signal of such a railroad to be introduced into civilized existence, as populous, opulent, and frequented as the islands of the Mediterranean.

We shall not now stop to ask for what object has France of late manifested so strong a predilection for the Marquesas,

or whether it is alone for the sake of *prison* accommodation she is forming a penal colony at Noukahiva; nor shall we comment on the singular attachment lately exhibited by the same nation towards the people of the Sandwich Islands; nor the spleen and resentment she exerted when the ungrateful objects of her courtship crossed her love and declined her embraces. Neither shall we inquire, why so many steamers of the first class have lately been purchased by the United States, and despatched to stations on the Pacific; nor, if it be true that they have actually commenced to run a line of steam packets from a port in that ocean to one in China, stopping at the Sandwich Islands; where every necessary convenience has been secured, as the American journals have very coolly announced, for the edification of British readers. We need only revert to the fact that, while we possess only a hundred and forty whaling vessels upon these seas, our American friends navigate these waters with no less than seven hundred ships of the largest tonnage, engaged in the same pursuit, whose traffic in oil is likely to become of great importance in Chinese commerce.

Waiving all these, and many other prominent considerations involving questions of critical interest to this country, we will at once address ourselves to our relations with Asia, maintaining in the outset the fact not only that our commerce in the Chinese seas remains partial, fluctuating, and precarious, and our relations with the Government of Peking, ambiguous, and unsatisfactory in the extreme; but that in spite of our late invasion of the Celestial Empire, our entry into Nankin, and threatened march upon the Chinese capital itself, we have had, since our victorious flourish, to revenge the murder of our subjects at Canton, and to repeat our coercion of that post, where our cruisers are compelled to keep constant watch and ward over the turbulent and insolent city. We have to repress by awe the commission of new outrages against the lives and property of the British residents, maintained under perpetual threats from the Chinese community, whose pleasure it is to practise every expedient to harass and obstruct our factory; while refusing us the hospitality of their walls, and haughtily

retaining us in contemptuous exclusion at their gates, as if we were indeed the Barbarian slaves, they affect to consider us. Nay more—and we blush for England while we write—they, in audacious disregard of their recent castigation, and with scorn of all European power, dared, in the very face of our fleets, and that too with the authority of Chinese Ministers, to make an inroad into a peaceful city, occupied by our ancient and devoted allies, and in open noonday seized the person of its Christian Governor, the representative and noble soldier of our friend, the Queen of Portugal! Despatching him in the public streets, they deliberately severed the head from the murdered corpse, and bore the bloody trophy to their Mandarin master. In conjunction with another Christian power we were constrained to land a force for the protection of the insulted city against the horrors of assault and massacre impending over the heads of our European brethren. The Chinese plainly showed by this foul and bloody retaliation upon the weak, how mercilessly they would treat the British authority and people, if they dared. How often since our triumphant war have we read appalling accounts of our navy being attacked, pillaged, and butchered by licensed pirates, screened, harboured, and encouraged along the whole Chinese coast; while the daring freebooter at their head has ever found, it is said, the highest favour and distinction from the Government at Canton, which still continues to mock our indignation. Had such a monstrous deed been perpetrated in Europe, every nation would have joined to inflict the most summary vengeance! But the act being committed by a distant, semi-civilized race, impunity must attend their offences, till excess shall render the meanness of our complaisance once more impossible. Where are the advantages promised by the privilege of our entry into the ports of Shanghai, Ningpo, and Amoy? Are they not rendered nugatory by the jealousy and reserve perpetually exhibited by the inhabitants, instigated by the secret manœuvres of their treacherous Government? With the exception of the inadequate indemnity, wrung by instalments from their inveterate hate, nothing remains to us in solid testimony of all our victories, save the wretched acquisition of the

paltry settlement of Hong-Kong—a contemptible speck, insalubrious in the extreme, poisoned with bad water, subject to unwholesome damp, and the most capricious excesses of heat and cold, infested with noxious insects, and frequented only by the most nefarious refuse of the Chinese people; and this in exchange for those possessions we captured from them at the point of the sword, and which, if retained, had rewarded us with lasting profit, and kept them in awe by the perpetuated exhibition of our power. Surrenders more disgraceful to our diplomacy than even the improvident and disgraceful cession of Java! Yet, what better had we to expect from the ultra-chivalrous exercise of so much forbearance towards an arrogant and barbaric people, who never exhibit moderation in victory, nor expect to meet it at the hand of a triumphant enemy; but, on the contrary, regard all the lenity displayed towards them, as undoubted evidence of weakness, and, in our case, of our being the dupes of their superior intelligence and cunning?

It would, however, be erroneous were we to impute this spirit to the voluntary disposition of the Chinese people themselves, who, like the inhabitants of every other despotic country, are influenced in their conduct towards foreigners by the political practice of their Government. The people themselves, with the shrewdness which belongs to their character, might soon be taught the manifold advantages they would derive by the cultivation of more perfect relations with us, but for the jealous apprehensions of their Tartar usurpers, who are fearful lest free intercourse with strangers should enlighten the people on the subject of their passive folly. Our forbearance is therefore tantamount to connivance in the proceedings of these tyrannic despots, and all we have gained for yielding our commanding position in the Chinese seas has been the resumption of our traffic in tea, and some other less important commodities, beyond which the self-interest of the India Company is not disposed to negotiate. What does it signify to traders, with their hands full of Hindostan, and their views in China confined to mere peddling on its coast, and that not always legitimate, that the genius and industry of its three hundred and fifty millions, their tastes, wants, and necessities,

should remain a dead letter in regard to the common interest of Europe in general, and their own country in particular? What do they care for the aptitude for commerce of this mighty nation, the mysterious interest attached to its internal resources, its vegetable and mineral wealth, or the three hundred and fifty millions of mouths and backs our granaries might feed and our manufactories clothe, in exchange for products probably running to waste and neglected, in these vast regions of China? What is it to the Company that so attractive a portion of our earth should yet remain to us a land of mystery: the fabulous and misconceived Cathay of Fra Paulo? What is the unnatural and inhuman policy to them, which shuts up so many millions in anti-social exclusion from the rest of the human race, refusing all communication and that general interchange of necessities and luxuries, by which the earth and the industry of man become the common property and provision of the whole, however distant and apart land and ocean may have cast the inhabitants of the globe? What is it to the members of the East India Company, each only anxious for the accumulation of his own private fortune, that China and ourselves possess a knowledge of science and secrets of art—each in their own degrees—which would prove equally beneficial to both were they mutually communicated and cultivated? What is it to them that there are fifteen first-class capitals of provinces in China Proper, crowded with an industrious population universally engaged in the prosecution of internal commerce, most apt of understanding, and who yet know as little of us, as we do of Timbuctoo? What is it to the Company that the Chinese alphabet continues a mystery to European scholars, or that the collected wisdom of ages of civilization should still remain a blank to these fellow inhabitants of our earth? Above all, what does the overgrown Company care if the knowledge of the Supreme Deity and the pure doctrines of morality based upon the existence of the One God, remain for ever unknown to these benighted heathens? What, indeed, we say is all this to the traders of Leadenhall, so that they are furnished with a sufficient supply of tea—an object of

far greater importance to them than the interests of two mighty nations in a broad and ostensible point of view.

But a criminal and stupid indifference to all these comprehensive considerations is not confined to our connexion with the Chinese continent. It is equally applicable to our relations with the adjacent islands, which together with the whole coast are abandoned to an equivocal and desultory system of trade. By these means the population and capabilities of these vast regions continue excluded from the circle of our commercial enterprise—just as our ancient merchants, in untaught ignorance, passed the coasts of Italy and Spain to traffic in preference with Venice and the Levant—nay, absolutely neglected, till a very late period, the commerce of the Baltic, and even overlooked the resources of our own shores.

The cause of the woeful neglect of the advantages we might happily cultivate with the interior of these countries, may be ascribed in some measure at least to the long space of time consumed in the perilous Cape-route voyage to China, before the introduction of modern improvements in navigation, and particularly the application of steam to that science. The great distance itself exacted the necessity of touching at intermediate points, with the penalty, peculiarly trying to northern constitutions, of traversing the scorching line four times to complete each voyage. This rendered the mere approach to the nearest locality of China a feat of too arduous and formidable a character to render further progress along the northern coast of the empire an addition at all to be desired; exposed at the same time, as such attempts were, to be repelled along the whole line of shore. It would appear, after making Canton, as if any further coasting northward became a fresh voyage: the more unnecessary by the establishment of an emporium at the latter city; notwithstanding the intemperate excess of its tropical heats, all but insupportable to Europeans, the contagious effects of its proverbial filth, and the inveterate intolerance of its inhabitants: all conspiring to render that port the most obnoxious and inconvenient in the world. The inhospitable character of the people

is of course ascribable to the jealous rigour of the Court of Peking, anxious to keep strangers aloof from the capital, and far removed from the thriving sphere of the central provinces. Such restrictions have tended to leave our mercantile navigators almost in total ignorance of the northern Coast of China, which, although now probably somewhat relaxed, still exclude us from generally frequenting it.

To make some amends for our equivocal footing in China, by no means improved by the paltry acquisition of Hong-Kong, and to preclude other Europeans from taking firmer ground in these seas, we have recently stepped into possession of Borneo; that hot-bed of piracy, which had been abandoned as untenable by Europeans, and which is a sorry substitute, indeed, for some permanent hold in China itself, and pitiful when considered in contrast with the Dutch establishment in Batavia, and the jewel in that lap of China still held by broken Spain—the Philippines. Why! while we cajole ourselves with the farce of our Hong-Kong accession, and the precarious permission to hang on in sufferance at the outer gate of Canton, even Russia holds a more favourable position at Petropaulouski and the Kuriles, were she but enabled by easy home communication to render these possessions fully available; and even as it is she is shrewdly suspected, from certain portentous movements of recent date, of no disinclination to stretch her power much further south, as soon as she can actually venture to steal such a march with impunity.

If, in the face of these examples, the wretched condition of British occupation in China draws down odium and ridicule upon the policy of our country, what are we to say of the unprecedented insult, offered to civilization and all Europe, in the barbarous exclusiveness maintained by the Government of the Japanese empire, which shuts up thirty millions of inhabitants from all intercourse with the rest of the human family, prohibiting them from contributing any share of produce to the general stock and resource, or to profit by the industry and supplies which other people might afford to their need? Thus they are utterly useless to the

rest of the universe, and blotting, as they do, by their selfish reserve, their islands as effectively from the map, as if they were obliterated by flood or earthquake, we dare not even approach their inhospitable shores, even for shelter from tempests, or for the pressing purposes of wood and water.

Were such an offensive posture assumed by one civilized European power towards another, and her ports should be shut, not only against all foreign commerce, but even individual access to her territory denied upon any pretext whatever, justice, honour, and expediency, would render it imperative upon every nation, so scorned and rejected, to resent it, as the most unpardonable injury which the government of one people could inflict upon another. There can be no doubt that England would be the very first to avenge such conduct, were it pursued at her expense by any one of the whole circle of European powers; and yet we passively submit to be repelled by Japan, and never approach her coast, but under fear of some audacious affront. The contribution we meanly consented to pay during so many years to Algerine pirates was an honourable transaction compared with the disgraceful indifference we exhibit towards Japan! In the same manner as we have acquitted the Chinese, we exonerate the population of Japan from all blame in this matter, which is attributable alone to the repulsive policy of their rulers, who, like the Tartar usurpers of China, have fostered the prejudices of the people against foreigners, from a selfish and jealous fear, lest the introduction of European intelligence should subvert a system so favourable to their despotism. The only pretext we can discover for such hostility towards strangers, is an ancient tradition and an affected apprehension of danger to the empire since the introduction of a body of Jesuit Missionaries, accused of a project of subjecting those islands to their own exclusive authority, about three hundred years ago; and who, upon this absurd charge, were, to the outrage of all nations, to the detriment of Christianity, and the shame of civilized Europe, monstrously massacred under the infliction of every terrible variety of torture.

Had the lives of these men been spared, Paganism overcome, and Christianity inculcated, it is probable that we should have seen the civilization of Europe pervading the collective extent of all the nations of north eastern Asia. Instead of this, the hatred and hostility which then prevailed against the Christian name has been fostered to this day by the Governments of these regions, both insular and continental.

It is high time, however, for the general good of all mankind, that this relentless triumph of unjustifiable animosity should cease. The Government of Japan must be constrained to atone at last, though late, for the crime of this wholesale butchery, by throwing open her resources to the general reciprocity of the other nations of the world who are entitled to the interchange of hospitable civilities, and mercantile commodities. In this unnatural condition of society, nations are mere prisons, each people a sequestered drove, penned up at the discretion of their lords, the produce of each separate climate restricted to local consumption, and the world no longer common, but cast up into exclusive sections; as much as if the inhabitants of our little globe were placed in different spheres.

Europe requires room and a fresh arena for her industry and produce. Japan must contribute to both, and furnish her quota of supply to the universal demand. But this seclusion of a large and populous country is not confined to Japan; for Corea, her nearest continental neighbour, emulative of the example of these islands, and instigated by China, all but prohibits our intercourse, to the defect of the vital interests which should attract us to a country so favourable to our European constitution and habits. Corea is peopled by a spirited and industrious race; and, like Japan, is teeming with produce in great mercantile request, and enriched, it is said, by the existence of thirty-three cities of the first rank, fifty-eight of the second, and seventy of the third, and, although the sovereign is a vassal, and tributary to the Emperor of China, yet he is so far independent, that, with European support, he might easily connect himself with any other power, without necessarily incurring the celestial ven-

geance or directly damaging by such separation, the territorial integrity of China Proper.

With these few preliminary hints, let us imagine a railway completed across our Canadian territories to Vancouver's Land; and a concurrent commerce directly streaming over the Pacific to the Chinese seas. On nearing the Asiatic continent, what do we behold? A stupendous amphitheatre of magnificent islands and continental nations, opening a vast crescent for the reception of the commercial influx to pour from our north-west channel, which by the abridged course of passage is destined to render these countries of Asia, heretofore so remote, as easily attained as some distant parts of Europe.

At present, with the plan of the Atlantic and Pacific Railway in view, let us cast our eyes on the Chinese coast and survey on both sides, north and south, how, stretching forth to receive us, the land projecting like the horns of a half-moon towards the American route, seems by nature and good fortune expressly arranged to favour the project of this new line of communication with Great Britain, who is destined, by this very means, it would appear, to be, henceforth, more than ever paramount and supreme in the Chinese sea.

First: even with the present footing of England at Canton, and her position at Hong-Kong, contemplate Borneo, in advance of the Sunda group, which now serves as the advance post of our force in that archipelago, supported by Hindostan and Ceylon on one side, and flanked on the other by Australia and New Zealand, rendering us thereby masters of all the straits which form the passages of the Indian Ocean and the Chinese sea, through our whole island barrier, which in future may become our impenetrable line of defence against the combined fleets of the world, in the new position it behoves us to assume in the Chinese regions. Thus enveloped, as it were, by the combined power we have here accumulated, and the galaxy of islands either in our actual possession, or at our discretionary disposal, the whole commerce of the vast islands of Japan, and southern China, might, if we choose, be only exercised in future, under the

shadow of our indirect, but still virtual sway and authority. But then let us ask, what have we in the north as a counterpoise, to render our possession of the whole Chinese coast, perfect and complete? Till now, the numerous island straits have served as secure approaches to enterprize in the Chinese shore. But on the outskirts we are stopped by the cowardly and repulsive jealousy and policy of the Chinese, to which we have hitherto succumbed.

It is to remedy this, and enforce a change of policy in the south, that we require a new fulcrum to act upon Chinese power in the north, with far more purchase than we can obtain from our imperfect location in the direction of Canton. A reference once more to the map, will suggest to the least reflective that the main force required would be best found in Japan and Corea; where, if co-operative interests with our own could only be once established, the power, influence, and resources of the whole Chinese race, to the utmost limits of their territories, with all the master keys to maritime position, necessary to be taken in connexion with the proposed passage through Canada, would render the whole of these countries as much subservient to the grand object we have in view, as if we actually held as predominant a sway over them as that which we exercise over the territories of Hindostan. A deliberate inspection of the position cannot but obtain the most unhesitating assent to the fact, that Japan and Corea constitute the true master key of the Chinese coast, so necessary to be established in communication with the direct traject through Canada. Once fortified with the aid and support of those two countries, the whole face of this mighty empire, with all her cities and markets, must, of necessity, and by rapid steps, become free and open to us, possessed as we should then be of combined power on one hand to enforce free access and respect; while moderation, under such proofs of permanent force, could not but win for us every friendly concession from the gratitude or the fear of the Chinese people.

Strengthened by connexion with Japan and Corea, what general and prodigious consequences might we not expect,

through the instant change which could not but inevitably be effected throughout the whole of European Asia? Represented at Peking, with a due title to respect and the faculty to enforce it, the prejudices of ages would melt away before the light of European knowledge and example, and the revolution in habits and manners which would inevitably ensue among the thronged millions, which compose all the Chinese range of nations, would stimulate our arts and manufactures beyond all conception, and regenerate the whole state of the Western world. Until the present time China has always pretended, and with success, to the chief advantage of our intercourse with her. We have affected her silks, and worn her cottons, crapes, and nankeens. We have consumed her rice, and tea, and other produce; for which we have principally paid in specie. She, on the other hand, only condescends to receive a small portion of our produce, and even that with extraordinary reserve: obstinately rejecting all the rest of our natural or manufactured products with the greatest disdain. But what would be the ameliorated condition of England, if the three hundred and fifty millions of Chinese people were taught to improve their resources by bartering their commodities? If they were taught to adopt our broad cloths, our prints, our hosiery, our fancy articles, hardware, cutlery, jewellery, fire-arms, curriery, clock-works; our machinery, steam engines, implements of tillage, and so forth,—what would not be our gain! On the other hand, under the example and direction of British residents at every port, and in her inmost cities, teaching the application of our discoveries in chemistry, mechanics, husbandry, navigation, and the fine arts; the celestial empire would learn to consume at the same time, much of our native growth and colonial produce, the whole being introduced into general consumption by internal trade throughout the empire; just as Chinese goods penetrate into the remotest markets of England.

To prove that all this is practicable, even with people the most fanatically attached to ancient national prejudices, customs, and habits, let us look at modern Turkey, Algeria, and Egypt,

fast merging into all the forms, tastes, and necessities of European life. Such a revolution in Eastern Asia, we repeat, which would bring so many millions of mouths and backs to purchase supply from our stores, would be the salvation of England and regeneration of all Europe. The first step to this is the direct line of communication already urged; and next, the close alliance and support of Corea and Japan.

But how, it will be asked, if these countries persevere in rejecting us? Why, then, we must accomplish our object through the same means, if needs must be, by which the various nations of Europe were severally occupied by their different inhabitants, through the same means by which England became the fatherland of a Saxon and Norman progeny, through the same means by which we appropriated America, through the same means by which France reigns in Algeria, by which Austria dominates in Italy, by which Prussia attempted the other day to absorb Schleswig, and by which Russia proposes a visit to Constantinople, by the same means by which the three latter occupy Poland; in fine, by the same means by which a Company of British merchants have appropriated Hindostan; and last of all, but assuredly not least—which we pray our reader will well note—through the same means by which our Mantchew precursors in the same adventure hold China even at the present moment under conquest. To be plain then, *we propose a summary seizure at once of one of the Japan islands, and the foundation of a military colony in the kingdom of Corea.*

Let no one start at the gigantic aspect of this project. Some nervous people, taken by surprise, may feel perplexed as to the means by which an object of such magnitude is to be effected, and accuse us, at the first view, of impracticability and extravagance; but if our proposition excites this sentiment, then let us assure them that they are but the dupes of their own crude and undefined conceptions, and that they will find, on mature examination, that the colossal appearance of our scheme only comprehends in reality a very feasible object, attainable by means very practicable, in comparison

with many employed to purposes of far more formidable difficulty elsewhere. The more it is considered, the clearer it will appear to be an ordinary enterprize, attended with very little risk, and as little expense; though, certain, on the contrary, to secure to England immeasurable profit and advantage.

First: it will be observed that Japan is unconnected with allies—composed of separate islands—each very narrow in breadth compared with its length, and all permitting easy access on every side. With all the boasted courage which Europeans are wont to impute to these islanders, they are necessarily far less disciplined than even the Chinese, and still more unused to war. Attacked in their separate insular divisions, and unprepared for defence against European tactics—exposed everywhere to our naval broadsides and military descents—while our soldiers would always be protected by our shipping on all sides, and that against opponents armed only with bows and matchlocks, hooped guns, and mounted gingals—what were such an enemy, we repeat, so situated and so surprised, compared to the warlike enemies accustomed to the field, experienced in strategy, and furnished with horse and artillery, with whom we are wont to cope in India, and whom we uniformly vanquish, notwithstanding their prowess and preponderating numbers; and this, too, with but feeble fractions of our scattered force? As we should have it, moreover, in our power not only to intercept all government communication between island and island, but to arrest the whole sea trade and supplies for which they are mutually dependent on each other, the islands of Japan, we maintain, are an easy conquest to make, and for the same reasons as easy to retain.

The position of Corea is no less exposed to facile invasion, totally insulated as it is from China, and opening only by land on the deserts of Eastern Tartary; whence no effective auxiliary aid might ever be expected to approach to her rescue. Corea, as much as Japan, stands openly exposed to naval attack, and military descents on every side; and, once subjected, could easily be protected from all Tartar invasion,

by a range of fortified places extended in connexion across the neck of the peninsula. Observe, that with an army of only seven thousand British and Sepoy troops, we shook the whole Chinese Empire, forcing the celestial potentate to obtain possession of his capital at our own price, while the youth of supreme sublimity who has just succeeded him and the Mandarin excellencies round his Imperial throne, must have a shrewd suspicion, after so strong a hint, that they can only in future uphold it at the will and pleasure of Great Britain.

If 7,000 men were sufficient to effect such results with China Proper, could not the same amount of force suffice in Japan and Corea? Or if double the amount of force were required, could not India accommodate us with Sepoy battalions, and Britain equip an impromptu army of treble that amount, as readily as we raised and disciplined the free legions that figured in the latter wars of Portugal and Spain: forces which were enrolled, formed and equipped as promptly as they were actually required? Besides, objections to the increase of our military body would be without grounds on this special occasion. For although France musters an army of 500,000 men, and Austria wields a force of upwards of 600,000, and Russia marches 800,000, and even poor Prussia maintains 280,000, there are many notoriously amongst us who would grumble at the augmentation of even one additional regiment to our own present strength, were it intended for the usual purposes of regular war; and this because British troops so engaged receive no subsidies or contributions from any foreign source, but must subsist at the entire charge of the nation. But such would not be the case of a force enrolled for the capture and permanent possession of such unwarlike and remunerative countries as Japan and Corea. Heaven knows that Britain could well spare a hundred times more than the force necessary; while each man in this instance would become a source of direct profit, from the immediate benefit that would indubitably accrue to this country, through the

stupendous increase of trade, resulting from a conquest of land so long intact, and rich in possession of so much fresh material. For Japan and Corea are not only in a condition to afford immediate indemnity for the expense incidental to such an expedition, but are in a better condition to maintain the force that we should detach amongst them, than the natives of India to support the army we maintain at so exorbitant a price for their subjection.

However, let us suggest that such troops should be accompanied by a numerous body of colonial volunteers, enrolled and classed upon the precise plan we proposed for the Civil Fencible Corps we have already conceived for service and settlement in Canada; but with the difference, that they should be more strictly and systematically organized in battalions, with regular soldiers incorporated with them, in proportion of one to every fifth man. The whole of this force might be commanded by regular officers, and this civil military force disciplined to a point equal in efficiency to our late local militia, or the best national guards of the Continent. These would have a different part to perform from those composing, as aforesaid, the Civil Fencible Corps expedited to Canada. For the invaders of Corea and Japan would have to occupy towns after the example of the Chinese cities, in which we find a Tartar and a Chinese quarter in each: not even excepting Pekin itself; a custom which would wonderfully facilitate the location of our British Colonists among the inhabitants of these countries, pacifically disposed, as they are, and accustomed to the most devoted obedience; while in the event of community with us, they would especially be secured against rebellion by the erection of a protecting citadel, and wall of division in every English quarter: by a vigilant police, and an alert regular garrison, supported by the *garde nationale* system of the English settlers. A naval force would, of course, be appointed upon the coast, and guard-ships at every post, for which purpose we have a numerous and most melancholy accumulation of war flotilla ingloriously rotting in ordinary, and totally unfit, it is said, for effective service,

which, in these seas, might yet be fully adapted and made adequate for all the duty required.

The Chinese fashion of distinct nationality, above alluded to, in the captured cities, we find existing in some of the first capitals in Europe. For instance, we find the Christian quarter in Constantinople: the Jews quarter in Rome: the Irish quarters in London; and the Chinese city in Batavia. By this we should find the choicest districts of Japanese and Corean town instantly Anglicised; and all busily astir with the occupations and callings pursued by our settlers for their own mutual and general convenience and accommodation; so that independent of their foreign fellow-townsmen, that is to say, the original natives, they would be enabled to suffice independently for themselves. Thus, the European tailor, shoemaker, hatter, butcher, baker, carpenter, smith, in fine, every other necessary trade, professionals and shopkeepers, would all be called into immediate requisition, without impediment to the callings and pursuits of the industrious natives, working, as they do, differently from us, both in the material and fashion of articles, to suit the ancient and confined taste of their own fellow-countrymen.

The only inconvenience to which we would thus subject them would be the usurpation of room. But this is a necessity contingent on the occupation of every conquered city. We are even subject to it ourselves, when any extraordinary occasion attracts an influx of strangers into our own towns, but the intrusion is always welcomed by the inhabitants, who, if thus inconvenienced, are invariably more than compensated by increase of gain; and similar consequences would indisputably follow the same cause, were we to quarter ourselves upon the cities of Corea and Japan. But, moreover, when was the usurpation of room any impediment to the vanquishers of cities? Is it not the necessary and expected consequence of their capture? Do the French hesitate to usurp room in the cities of Algeria?

There is the strong plea of necessity in our plan, and the fact that the Americans will only anticipate us, if we hesitate. Mere lust of conquest is indeed a crime; although it is fre-

quently termed glorious, when it suits a nation or a conqueror to do so. As to the American spirit, only regard the present invasion of Cuba, to see what may be expected thence.

The high state of civilization we have attained, unfits the mass of British citizens for the hardships of the wilderness. Merchants, professional persons, and the followers of the innumerable delicate crafts, callings, and pursuits proper to cities—which constitute the major throng of the dangerous and distressed multitude struggling against misery throughout these realms—are totally unadapted to the task of cultivating deserts and clearing forests; and for the sake of our consistency be it observed that when we recommend emigration from England to the back settlements of Canada, it is because we would provide the people thus sent forth with an accompanying object of immediate support and future prosperity in the construction of a grand railway communication across the continent of America. For this means would at once abridge the hardships of the desert and multiply towns and cities, for those who are accustomed to their habits, as fast as cultivated fields could be called into existence by the labour of those with whom tillage is the proper pursuit. It is, at present, cities, that the mass of British emigrants require for places of foreign settlement. It is the number of cities in the United States which attract so many colonists thither; and it is owing to the general want of them in our own colonies, that emigration still meets a certain unwillingness in England; in spite of all the stimulus applied.

The next grounds for opposing our project of a settlement in Corea and Japan will be found in the specious plea of morality and justice:—"What! seize upon a country without any other provocation to war save motives of expediency, and unconscientiously despoil a people to arrogate supreme government over their cities?" But does not the unexpiated crime against nations committed by Japan, in the massacre of European Christians already cited—which tragic enormity

was followed by the continued disruption of all friendly connexion with us, directly and indirectly, as if in defiance of our wrath and to seal their act of extermination with the perpetuated stamp of insolence—demand no act of reprisal? Does not the repulse always waiting us on the coast of Corea, and the outrageous vexations to which we are invariably exposed when we court her commerce, present a constant *casus belli*? Or, if the conquerors of India are, indeed, so scrupulously fastidious in their choice of a plea, only let some vessel simulating distress, or evincing signs of friendly curiosity, approach these shores, and the fierce hostility with which we should be instantly repelled, and not only insulted, but perhaps severely damaged, would soon furnish the provocation, for which rigorous equity would imperatively demand satisfaction.

But even if the incorrigible animosity of Canton, and the late piracies and assassinations, did not fully authorise us already to secure our lives and property in those seas, by the most summary means in our power, no treaties of peace and alliance existing, past, or present, betwixt us and Japan or Corea, could give them any just right to accuse us of perfidy. Neither could the inimical conduct so inflexibly maintained towards us, entitle them to impeach us of wanton aggression, or ingratitude. On the contrary, they have challenged our resentment through uniform insult and repulsion aggravated by the duration of their inveterate hatred. Both these countries being detached, and independent of the Chinese empire, the latter could assert no effectual pretext to interfere, even if the memory of her own recent punishment had left her the spirit to dare; and thus the Japanese could only accuse themselves of the obstinacy of their inhospitable policy. To the mere paraders of cant and sentimentality, who crowd Exeter Hall, we have only to cite the most respectable example of all antiquity—accomplished at the express command of God, by the people of his choice. We mean the children of Israel, in their invasion of the promised land.

Of Japan it has been universally reported by all who have

written on the subject of that island, that its soil is so prolific of gold, that a government prohibition stringently restricts the digging of more than a certain annual quantity, in order to prevent that precious metal from becoming too common. Now, considering that this country lies under the same parallel of latitude with the opposite coast of California, the truth of such rumour becomes not at all improbable, supported, as it is, by the corroborative fact that gold is also one of the staple commodities of Corea. If then this auriferous abundance be truly existent in Japan, behold at least, at the first blush, a means of helping us to remuneration, which, at the same time, would cost the Japanese but little sacrifice; whilst we should possess a bank to rival that of the United States, in their late acquisition of the wondrous gold mines of Western America.

We are aware that there are many "strainers at gnats and swallowers of camels," who will be horrified at what we have now written; a sort of people who blockade the slave coast at the expense of England, but who like cheap sugar. We dare say that these persons are all in some way connected with India. What do they think of the conquest of Scinde, or Affghan, considering our first claims to set foot in India?

But we do not propose that an English force should wantonly invade these countries in the mere quest of vain triumphs: to clap their provinces and cities under contribution; and draft the population into battalions destined to extend the work of conquest and aggression, as is customary with our continental armies in war, but only propose the persuasion of gentle force in the absence of any other means of overcoming prejudice and antipathy, and this directly to promote mutual concord, common interest, and universal good, the whole principally through the medium of cultivated commerce, in which the whole world would participate.

Of what account would be the inconveniences we might at first create by our sudden intrusion, compared to the flood of wealth and prosperity, which would immediately follow our

settlement in these countries, which would be no longer confined to an insulated and unvisited recess of the universe, ignorant of a thousand necessities and luxuries common to other people; and thus confined to their own resources, and consequently encumbered with innumerable objects of produce which would gladden other regions; and attract imported comforts and utilities in exchange? We should see their harbours suddenly thronged with shipping from every quarter of the globe; their quays covered with merchandize to which they have hitherto been strangers; and the roads down to their ports groaning under the weight of goods for embarkation, consigned otherwise to perish in the interior undemanded. We should gradually behold the whole face of their fields changed to most singular improvement and beauty under new methods of European husbandry, and the application of novel implements to that effect. Society would be seen everywhere conspicuously ameliorated beneath the influence of more perfect education, increasing knowledge, the inappreciable blessings of free and enlightened institutions: and the worship of the only true God!

XI.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851.

Since certain strictures have been made as to this exhibition, throughout the *Work*, which may appear a little illiberal, considering that the executive of the whole affair is understood to be under the direction of PRINCE ALBERT, to whom we are anxious to show all possible respect, it may be well to observe, that there appears to be a strong public misconception, as to the origin and manufacture of this high sounding, philanthropical undertaking. We refer to the pages of the *Mechanics' Magazine*, March 2, for an account

of the whole transaction, which appears thence to have been got up by five persons in the name of the Society of Arts, rather than with their sanction and co-operation, and to have been somewhat prematurely smuggled upon Prince Albert. However, we leave all this, to quote what certainly appears worthy of remark, upon the tendency of the exhibition itself.

“If the cosmopolitanism now in vogue were allowed its full swing, it would amount to this: that if there is any branch of manufacture—cutlery or hosiery, for example—which any other people can produce better than we, it will be sound policy in us to bring out the fact as clearly, and distinctly, and publicly as possible, in order that our goods may no longer enjoy that reputation in the markets of the world which they have hitherto undeservedly done! But where is the minister who would undertake to maintain such a proposition as that before a British House of Commons—in the face of the representatives of Birmingham, and Sheffield, and Nottingham, and Leicester?

“Englishmen are but too prone to think that they have nothing to fear from competition—that as they have beaten the world in arms, so also they can beat it in the arts of peace; and well this foible has been played upon by the missionaries whom Prince Albert has sent round the country to disseminate his Quixotic notions of universal brotherhood. ‘You’re not *afraid*, are you, of being beaten?’ The idea of objecting from fear to the throwing of the competition open to all nations has everywhere settled the question with our stout-hearted and simple-minded workmen. Much or little, however, something they must suffer from it; they cannot expect to win all the prizes, or even a majority of them; and they must of necessity lose in reputation by all that are awarded to others. Your sentimental cosmopolist, who cares no more for the Englishman in such a struggle than for a Hottentot or Hindoo, may view such a result with complacency; but every man who is not above loving his country before all countries, must see with deep regret his countrymen entangled by a spurious philanthropy in so losing a game.

"We hear much of the tendency of the measure to conciliate foreign nations. No doubt, foreign nations must feel vastly obliged to us, in the first instance, for jeopardizing the interests of our own artizans in order to befriend theirs; but how long beyond the exhibition may their gratitude be expected to last? If the English obtain the majority of the prizes (as it is to be hoped they will)—if the general result be only to establish more firmly than ever the superiority of the English in manufacturing skill, the natural and inevitable effect must be, to fill the breasts of the foreign competitors with feelings of mortification, enmity and bitterness. If, on the contrary, the majority of prizes should be awarded to foreigners (which God forbid!), such an event will plant a thorn in the side of manufacturing England, which it will take ages to eradicate."

XII.

WHITNEY'S RAILWAY PLANS AND CHINESE CIVILIZATION.

The opinion of the United States, as exhibited in their journals, exultingly proclaims that Whitney's plan "would lay open the immense wilderness of America and render its waste lands and fine soil available to the overgrown population of Europe and Asia." California, it must be noticed, has already attracted thousands of Chinese, who display great capabilities for civilized intercourse with Europeans. It is also worthy of remark, that the Chinese have shown a great readiness to colonize in Java, Singapore, and Borneo. Despatches from the latter island inform us, "that Chinese merchants are moving in a body from Bruné to Labuan." There are also reports of their introduction into New Zealand. Lastly, a speech of Mr. Denison in the House, states "that it was found easy to import Chinese into

Australia, who answered very well as agricultural labourers, at a cost of ten pounds each, and with annual wages of six pounds." There is a most powerful argument, which we have hitherto omitted to mention in our plans for possessing ourselves of a part of the Chinese Empire. It is this. The boundless fertility of our North American possessions, if properly used, might constitute them the granary of the world. The Chinese, more than ourselves, are suffering from the horrors of superabundant population. In a season of scarcity thousands die there of utter inanition; whilst even at the best of times, the lower classes suffer from privation, and devour the offal of the streets, which a well-fed dog in a prosperous country would spurn. If, then, we should exercise some little injustice in possessing ourselves of their territory, which, under the circumstances, we do not admit, surely we might amply recompense them by opening up for their aid and support the vast resources which, not only North America, but Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Polynesia, afford. As to the benefits that we might derive from Chinese civilization, it is certain that, in their internal struggles against their own population, they have discovered and practised many simple things which all our enlightened *barbarianism* is ignorant of, or neglects. How might our sanitary regulations be improved, or even rendered unnecessary, by the adoption of their minute application of even offal and ordure, and all that which chokes our sewers, and poisons our great towns, to the immediate purposes of agricultural process!

The internal resources of Great Britain are more than half neglected, not to speak of our colonial folly. We have no notion of how to make a philosophical use of our privileges, and whilst science loses itself in *minutiae*, and *savants* like Liebig, Drs. Southwood Smith, and Buckland, are refining upon scientific theories, the first principles of nature as adapted to human comfort and necessity, are utterly lost sight of.

We are fully convinced that, from familiar intercourse with the Chinese, we should learn many things in the art of living; whilst we should bring them external assistance and develop the

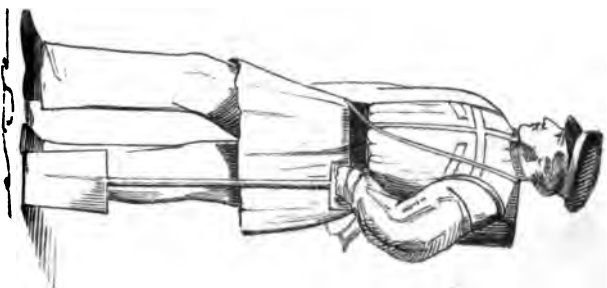
talents and energies of a mighty nation, at present cramped and confined by their state of imprisonment at home.

The social condition of mankind is about to undergo mighty changes.

Providence has broken down the barriers of mighty deserts, unlocked the hidden treasures of ages, and led multitudes and individuals forth by an agency at once familiar and mysterious, to discover and take possession, to colonize, subdue, and exist in a new state of being; whilst man has kept pace by means of invention and discovery with the wonderful intentions of Providence, and design and accident combine to form the onward march and act the great necessities of Time. Well did Prince Albert state in his speech to the effect that this is the age of transitions. Will Great Britain continue to advance in the van of nations, or yield to others the palm of superiority in interpreting the wisdom and intention of a Power that blends human agency with purposes at once merciful and Divine?

THE END.

PLATE I.



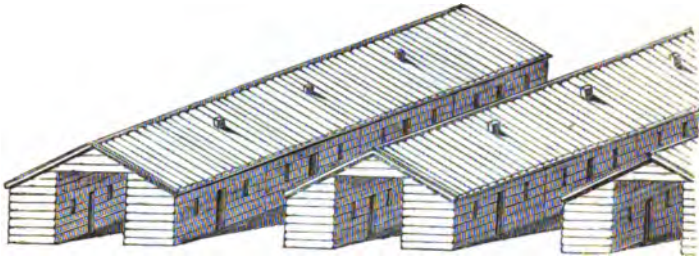
Equipment of working Emigrants (page 246).

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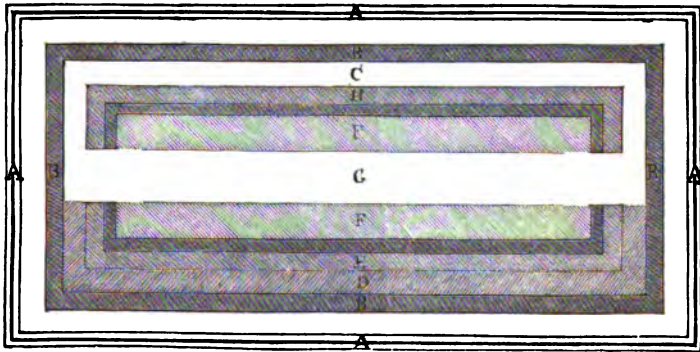
PLATE II.



Transverse Section of the Barracks and Convict Prison.



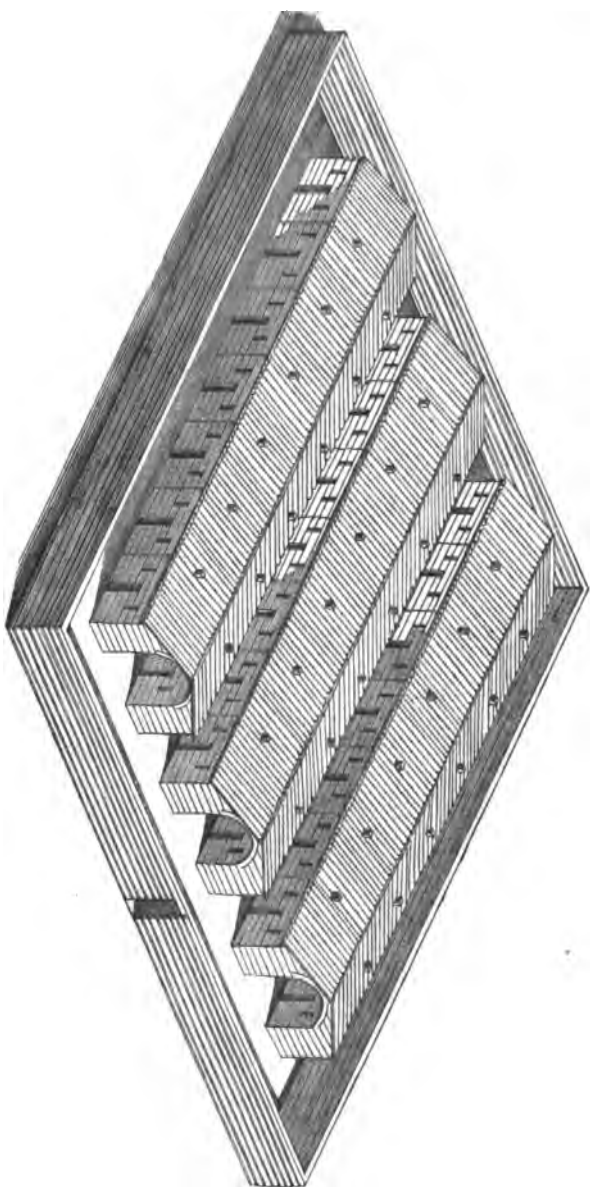
Temporary Barracks (page 277).



Barracks and Convict Prison (page 279).

- A A A A—Wooden enclosure walls, with outer and inner ditches.
- B B B B—Soldiers' Barracks.
- H E—Soldiers' Galleries.
- F F—Convicts' Sleeping apartments.
- D—Outer working gallery.
- G—Inner working gallery.

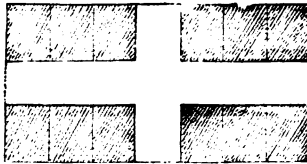
PLATE III.



Retreat for the women of each Station (page 231).

19

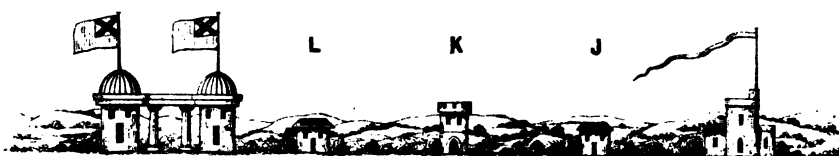
PLATE IV.



General Plan and Elevation of a Block-building, showing twelve houses, with the inner working galleries (page 280).

TERMINUS-WESTWARD.

LOG FORT
NO. 1 WEST.



<i>400 Miles</i>	<i>387%</i>	<i>376</i>	<i>362%</i>	<i>350</i>	
<i>Men - 800.</i>	<i>Men - 20.</i>	<i>Men - 100.</i>	<i>Men - 20.</i>	<i>Men - 400.</i>	<i>L</i>
<i>Women 266.</i>	<i>Women - 7.</i>	<i>Women - 33.</i>	<i>Women - 7.</i>	<i>Women 185.</i>	<i>H</i>

Convicts - 500.
Guards - 160.
Women - 54

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